OCTOBER 1, 2018

TIME

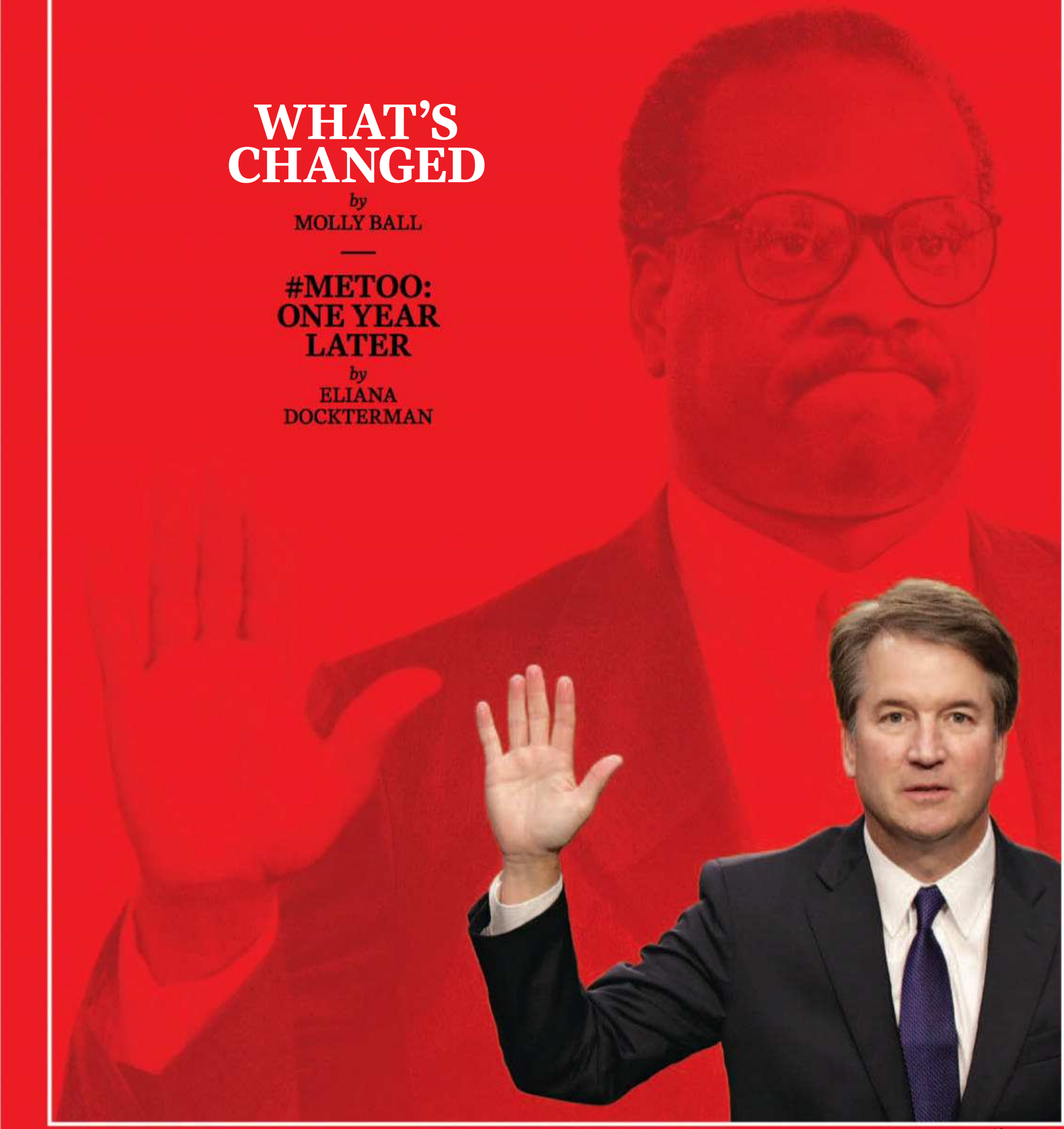
WHAT'S CHANGED

by
MOLLY BALL

—

#METOO: ONE YEAR LATER

by
ELIANA DOCKTERMAN



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"SOS" (Save Our Souls) painted on a road and photographed on Sept. 1 in Utuado, P.R.

Photograph by Christopher Gregory for TIME

ON THE COVER: *TIME photo-illustration; Thomas: J. David Ake—Getty Images; Kavanaugh: Chip Somodevilla—Getty Images*

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A new era for TIME

IN MY FIRST LETTER TO READERS AS editor, I wrote about the obligation that all of us at TIME feel to ensure that this institution thrives into its second century. Interestingly, that was a secondary priority to Henry Luce, the visionary journalist and executive who founded the magazine in 1923. "I suggest what we want to do," Luce wrote in a confidential memorandum to his senior leaders a decade later, "is not leave to posterity a great institution but to leave behind a great tradition of journalism ably practiced in our time."

This week, TIME finds itself in the fortunate position of exceeding its founder's expectations, through a major investment that creates a new home for us as an institution and for our journalism. Following the acquisition in January of TIME's former parent company, our new owners at Meredith Corp. concluded—and we agreed—that given the extraordinary speed of disruption in our industry, TIME's future would be best secured under new ownership fully focused on our business and our growth.

SO WE ARE DELIGHTED that Marc and Lynne Benioff, who share the core values that have defined this globally trusted brand for nearly a century, will be the new owners of TIME. Co-founder of the enterprise-software company Salesforce, Marc is one of the great innovators of our era, as Luce was in his. The Benioffs have a profound commitment to community and to finding solutions to some of society's most complex problems, whether it's building children's hospitals or tackling homelessness. They also believe, as TIME does, in the sharing and debating of competing ideas.

The Benioffs will hold TIME as a family investment. TIME will have no connection to Salesforce, and it will of course remain fully editorially independent.

"TIME is a treasure trove of the world's history and culture," Marc wrote this week in a note to our staff. "We have deep respect for your entire organization and are honored to now have TIME as part of our family impact investment portfolio. The power of TIME has always been its unequaled ability to tell stories about the people and issues that affect us all and connect us all. Lynne and I will take on no operational responsibility for TIME, and look only to be stewards of this historic and iconic brand with all of us."

Marc and Lynne Benioff

ONE OF THE FIRST CHALLENGES Marc and Lynne gave us is to think big. What will TIME look like in 2040? What will it mean to people decades from now?

That's what we'll all be thinking about as we create this new home for TIME rooted in the values we've always held, with the resources we need to reach our greatest potential and to deliver for our readers for many years to come.

Edward Felsenthal,
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF @EFELSENTHAL

MORE:

***TIME* + WEWORK**
Above, TIME correspondent Haley Sweetland Edwards interviews Misty Copeland, the American Ballet Theatre's first black female principal ballerina and a 2015 TIME 100 honoree, on Sept. 17 at a Manhattan WeWork—the third event in the TIME 100 × WeWork Speaker Series.

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READING LIST
After you get through this week's fall books preview *(page 51)*, check out the new TIME.com series on the most exciting book releases of each month. Find the inaugural list of recommendations at **time.com/september-books**

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For the Record

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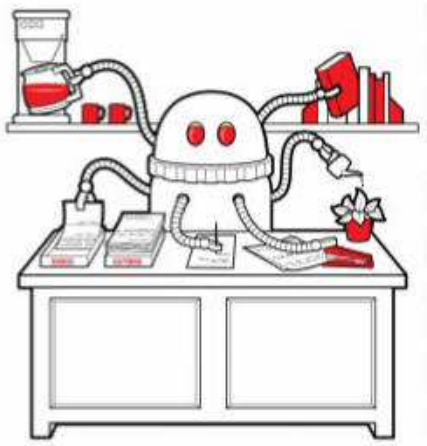
Estimated age, in years, of a mummified wolf pup—complete with head, tail, paws and fur—recovered by paleontologists in Canada; a caribou was also found

‘You wonder why I don’t like to call you my girlfriend. Because I want to call you my wife.’

GLENN WEISS,
winner of the Emmy for outstanding directing for a variety special, proposing onstage at the 2018 Emmy Awards

2025

Year by which machines could be performing 52% of office tasks, according to a new World Economic Forum study



‘IRREVERSIBLE, PERMANENT PEACE.’

MOON JAE-IN,
South Korean President, on the goal for his third historic summit with North Korean dictator Kim Jong Un, who greeted Moon with a hug upon his arrival at Pyongyang airport on Sept. 18

‘I hoped that my fears for our future were overblown. They were not.’

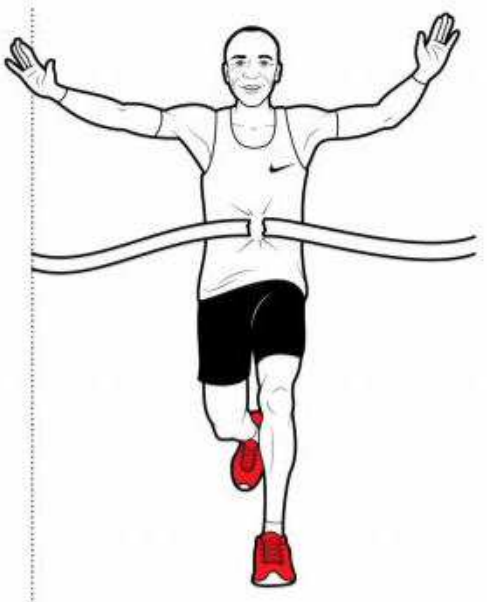
HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON,
former U.S. Secretary of State and 2016 presidential candidate, on President Donald Trump’s first two years in office, in a new edition of her book *What Happened*

‘I CAN TELL YOU IT DEFINITELY WASN’T ALIENS.’

SUNSPOT SOLAR OBSERVATORY,
via a spokesperson, on speculation surrounding the evacuation and temporary closure of the New Mexico observatory; it reopened on Sept. 17

‘Presidential Alert: THIS IS A TEST of the National Wireless Emergency Alert System. No action is needed.’

FEDERAL EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT AGENCY,
in a text message that American cell-phone customers are scheduled to receive on Oct. 3 starting at 2:18 p.m. E.T., a test of the President’s ability to communicate to the public in the event of a national emergency



2 hr. 1 min. 39 sec.

New marathon world record for men, set at the Berlin Marathon by Eliud Kipchoge, 33, of Kenya

Merkel
German Chancellor Angela removes her government’s intel chief after a public dispute on the migrant issue

Markle
Duchess Meghan is releasing a cookbook for charity as her first solo royal philanthropic project

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SOURCES: THE ATLANTIC; NEW YORK TIMES; PEOPLE; WASHINGTON POST

The brief

THE VANISHING
China's missing movie star Fan Bingbing, pictured in Paris last year

INSIDE

WHY THE EUROPEAN UNION CONDEMNED HUNGARY'S GOVERNMENT

THE HISTORY BEHIND THE FATAL SHARK ATTACK IN MASSACHUSETTS

NEW RESEARCH SUGGESTS FOUR PRIMARY PERSONALITIES

PHOTOGRAPH BY PIERRE SUU

WORLD

Behind the puzzle of China's missing star

By Charlie Campbell/Beijing

IT SHOULD HAVE BEEN THE WEEK'S BIG CHINA story. After all, the new tariffs President Donald Trump slapped on $200 billion of Chinese imports marked a drastic escalation of a trade war between the world's two biggest economies. And Beijing may well have wanted its retaliatory tariffs on $60 billion of U.S. goods to top the news agenda. But in China, there was a more burning topic: Where on earth is Fan Bingbing?

Fan, 37, is China's best-known actress and the nation's highest-paid celebrity for four years running, earning a reported $43 million last year. She was featured in TIME's list of the 100 most influential people in 2017 and has also broken into Hollywood, starring in *X-Men: Days of Future Past* and *Iron Man 3*. She was soon to begin filming a spy thriller with Penélope Cruz. But since June, China's biggest star has not been seen in public.

Some speculate that Fan is in hiding, but most agree her disappearance seems tied to leaks on Chinese social media in late May of "yin yang" contracts under her name—in which one contract is disclosed for tax purposes and a larger one discreetly paid to the star. According to the leak, Fan declared $1.5 million for work on the sequel to her 2003 movie *Cell Phone* but actually pocketed $7.5 million.

A spokesperson for Fan denied tax evasion to Chinese media in May. But the leak prompted Beijing to launch a broad probe into the entertainment industry's tax practices. Chinese authorities have since said that no actor is allowed to earn more than 70% of the total salary for the entire cast or 40% of production costs.

On Sept. 6, a state news outlet reported that Fan had "been brought under control" and was "about to receive legal judgment." But the article was quickly erased. The government has refused to comment on her whereabouts. It's unclear whether she has been charged with a crime.

THE MYSTERY highlights the opacity of Chinese justice. The use of so-called black jails has been ramped up across China since President Xi Jinping came into power in 2013. In August, a U.N. human-rights panel said it had credible reports that 1 million members of the mostly Muslim Uighur ethnic minority are being held in secret camps for "re-education." Meanwhile, national and local security officials are now able to detain suspects at undisclosed locations for up to six months. Rather than detention and arrest, China is making systematic use of disappearances, says Peter Dahlin, a Swedish human-rights lawyer interrogated for 23 days at a black jail in Beijing in 2016. "The world has never known the numbers of disappearances that we see today in China."

Black jails are not typically discussed by China's tightly controlled media, but the disappearance of Fan—who has more than 62 million followers on social-media site Weibo—has brought national attention to the topic.

Many presume Fan is guilty of some crime. Aware that rampant graft threatened the legitimacy of the Communist Party, then party Chairman Xi launched an anticorruption campaign in 2012 to target both "tigers and flies," or high and low officials. China's anticorruption watchdog says 1.34 million officials have been punished as of October 2017.

Others detect a moral element in the mystery. While the Chinese Communist Party has backed the rapid development of domestic media, it is now clamping down on flourishing popular culture and behavior not aligned with the party's ideology and socialist values. Fan was a frequent target of criticism, scoring 0% in a recent state-backed social-responsibility ranking of celebrities.

It's unclear whether Fan was caught in Beijing's morality dragnet, but resurgent puritanism is certainly causing trouble across the entertainment industry. Tech giant Tencent, maker of China's ubiquitous WeChat messaging app, has plummeted $150 billion in value since January after the government stopped approving new gaming apps. Other film, TV and online-content producers have also been left confused as projects have gotten blocked.

Obscure rules about morality combined with a new tax code—nixing long-standing exemptions and incentives and backdated to January—has left the movie industry "very angry," says Wang Donghui, a producer in China since 2010. "There's a lot of smoke. People don't understand what the Film Bureau or tax departments really mean."

Bankrolling movie productions has also become a way for China's superrich to get their money out of the country: paying foreign talent more on paper than in reality and depositing the difference in overseas banks. Industry insiders say big-budget flops keep getting greenlighted because their true purpose is simply moving cash overseas. Indeed, capital flight is a growing threat to the economy; China's foreign-exchange reserves dropped $36.6 billion from January to April.

Whatever the true cause of her disappearance, Fan appears to be the highest-profile victim of Beijing's attempt to purify what it sees as a runaway, corrupt industry. "Women today are very powerful," Fan says in one of her last known appearances, an advertisement for De Beers diamonds. "They take control of their work and careers." But in China today, true control belongs to the state alone. □

'We must rid ourselves of any virus that erodes the party's health.'

CHINESE PRESIDENT XI JINPING, speaking about corruption in October 2017 at the Communist Party Congress marking the end of his first term

PREVIOUS PAGE: GETTY IMAGES; THESE PAGES: XI: MARCELO GARCIA—VENEZUELAN PRESIDENCY/AFP/GETTY IMAGES; ORBAN: ATTILA KISBENEDEK—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Prime Minister Viktor Orban speaks at the Hungarian parliament in Budapest on Sept. 17

THE BULLETIN

Hungary's Viktor Orban widens the division between E.U. liberals and hard-liners

ADDRESSING HUNGARY'S PARLIAMENT ON Sept. 17, Prime Minister Viktor Orban accused E.U. leaders of seeking to undermine the rights of member states to control their own borders, after the E.U. revealed plans to create a 10,000-strong border force to tackle migration. Days later, his government launched a media campaign against the E.U.'s "pro-migration majority." His actions added to growing concerns in Europe about Orban's shift away from democratic norms since the migrant crisis began in 2015.

BREAKING RULES Orban and his nationalist Fidesz party have weakened democratic protections since coming to power in 2010 and now effectively control all branches of government, while silencing critical media. In response, E.U. lawmakers voted on Sept. 12 to censure Hungary for posing a "systemic threat" to democracy, paving the way for sanctions against a member state. Orban has said Hungary is being punished for choosing not to be a "country of migrants" and believes E.U. leaders "don't want to stop migration, they want to manage it."

BUILDING WALLS But the decision was about more than just migration. In 2014, Orban set out his vision of "illiberal democracy"—a strong state with high levels of social discipline and limited public dissent. This presents a dilemma to the E.U.'s centrist lawmakers: Orban's illiberal platform is wildly popular domestically. He triumphed in free elections in April after running on an anti-migrant platform; he closed Hungary's southern border at the height of the migrant crisis and casts himself as a defender of "Christian values."

GROWING DIVIDE The E.U.'s leaders are increasingly split between integrationists like President Emmanuel Macron of France and anti-migration populists like Orban and Italy's Interior Minister Matteo Salvini. Although the border force was intended as an olive branch to the hard-liners, Orban's response marked his bluntest rejection yet of the E.U. As if to show he has options, he met the day after his speech with another regional power broker: Russian President Vladimir Putin. —BILLY PERRIGO

NEWS TICKER

U.S. to slash refugee numbers

Secretary of State Mike Pompeo announced on Sept. 17 that the Trump Administration **will sharply reduce the number of refugees into the U.S.** from 45,000 to 30,000 in the next fiscal year, the lowest cap since the program began in 1980.

Pakistan's ex–Prime Minister released

Nawaz Sharif, Pakistan's former Prime Minister who was sentenced in July to 10 years in jail for corruption, was **released from prison along with his daughter on Sept. 19 after a high court appeals hearing.** The case remains to be heard by the top court, but the date for a new hearing was not immediately fixed.

FGM surgeries put 50 girls in the hospital

About 50 girls in Burkina Faso, some as young as 4, suffered **botched female genital mutilation (FGM) procedures,** the government said on Sept. 17. Police arrested several people, including some of the girls' relatives. UNICEF says 76% of Burkinabe women ages 15 to 49 have had FGM, which was made illegal in 1996.

NEWS TICKER

Feds probe Tesla after Musk tweets

The Department of Justice **launched a probe into electric-car firm Tesla,** after founder Elon Musk tweeted in August that he would take the company private, before reversing his decision. The investigation will examine whether the company intentionally misled investors.

Kim makes nuclear offer, with caveats

North Korean leader Kim Jong Un has **agreed to shut down a major missile test site** in the presence of international experts, South Korea's Moon Jae-in announced Sept. 19 after a two-day summit in Pyongyang. He said Kim would also close its main nuclear complex if the U.S. agrees to reciprocal measures.

DeVos loses student-loan lawsuit

Education Secretary Betsy DeVos lost a lawsuit filed by 18 states and the District of Columbia that accused her department of **delaying Obama-era protections to shield students from predatory loan practices.** The regulations were due to take effect in July 2017.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF

Shark attacks in U.S. waters—and how common they really are

IT WAS AROUND NOON WHEN THE SHARK struck. Arthur Medici, a 26-year-old from Brazil, was attacked on Sept. 16 while boogie-boarding just off Cape Cod's Newcomb Hollow Beach. Although a friend dragged him from the water, he soon succumbed to his injuries in the first fatal shark attack in Massachusetts since 1936. Coming just weeks after a 61-year-old was hospitalized following a bite a few miles up the beach, the death unnerved a region unaccustomed to the presence of these storied predators.

The first American shark panic began in the hot summer of 1916, when a spate of attacks off the Jersey Shore killed four in two weeks. This was thought to be the work of a single great white shark—a species indigenous to the Atlantic coast and the same likely involved in recent attacks. In an era when little was known about beasts from the deep, the deaths were big news. One paper warned that, facing a scarcity of fish, the shark had "probably acquired a taste for human flesh."

But 1916 did not herald a new era of human-hunting sharks. The rate of attacks in the U.S. stayed relatively stable, at two or three per year, for decades. From the 1950s on, that number rose in tandem with human population growth, and its attendant increase of people in the water.

Globally, both numbers have been climbing faster since the late 1980s and into the 21st century, but such encounters with sharks are still remarkably uncommon given that the human population is some 7.5 billion. In 2017, 53 of the world's 88 confirmed unprovoked attacks took place on U.S. coastlines, with 31 in Florida—but even there, you're far less likely to be killed by a shark than by lightning. Thanks to beach safety and hospital access, only five of last year's global attacks were fatal.

We now know the Jersey Shore shark, which helped inspire the fictional fish in *Jaws,* was probably just confused after straying from its home in deeper waters. "If sharks were actively hunting people, we'd see far more attacks," Gavin Naylor, director at the Florida Museum's Program for Shark Research, tells TIME. "When sharks attack humans, it's always a case of mistaken identity."

Instead, great whites are usually looking for seals, which helps explain the Cape Cod attacks. The East Coast is feeling the effects of the 1972 Marine Mammal Protection Act, which has boosted the numbers of seals to unusually high levels. As the seals venture closer to shore, so do the sharks, says Naylor.

Statistically, sharks have far more to fear from us than we do from them—fisheries wipe out an estimated 100 million each year, and climate change and other human activity have threatened shark habitats, sending their global population into decline. But that doesn't make it any less harrowing when the beasts bite back. —CIARA NUGENT

ISTOCKPHOTO/GETTY IMAGES

PERSONALITY

Who are you?

Researchers from Northwestern University used data from more than 1.5 million survey respondents and identified four main personality types. Here's the breakdown. —*C.N.*

AVERAGE
Unsurprisingly, most people fall under "average," meaning they are typically **extroverted and neurotic,** but **low on openness.** Women are more likely than men to fall into the average type.

SELF-CENTERED
Self-centered types are **highly extroverted but less open, agreeable and conscientious.** There is a dramatic decrease in the number of self-centered types as people age, with both women and men.

RESERVED
If you're reserved, you'll be **somewhat agreeable and conscientious, but not particularly extroverted or open.** That may sound boring, but the study suggests reserved types are emotionally stable.

ROLE MODELS
Lucky role-model types **score highly on every trait except neuroticism.** "These are people who are dependable and open to new ideas," said Luis Amaral, co-author of the study. Women are more likely than men to qualify.

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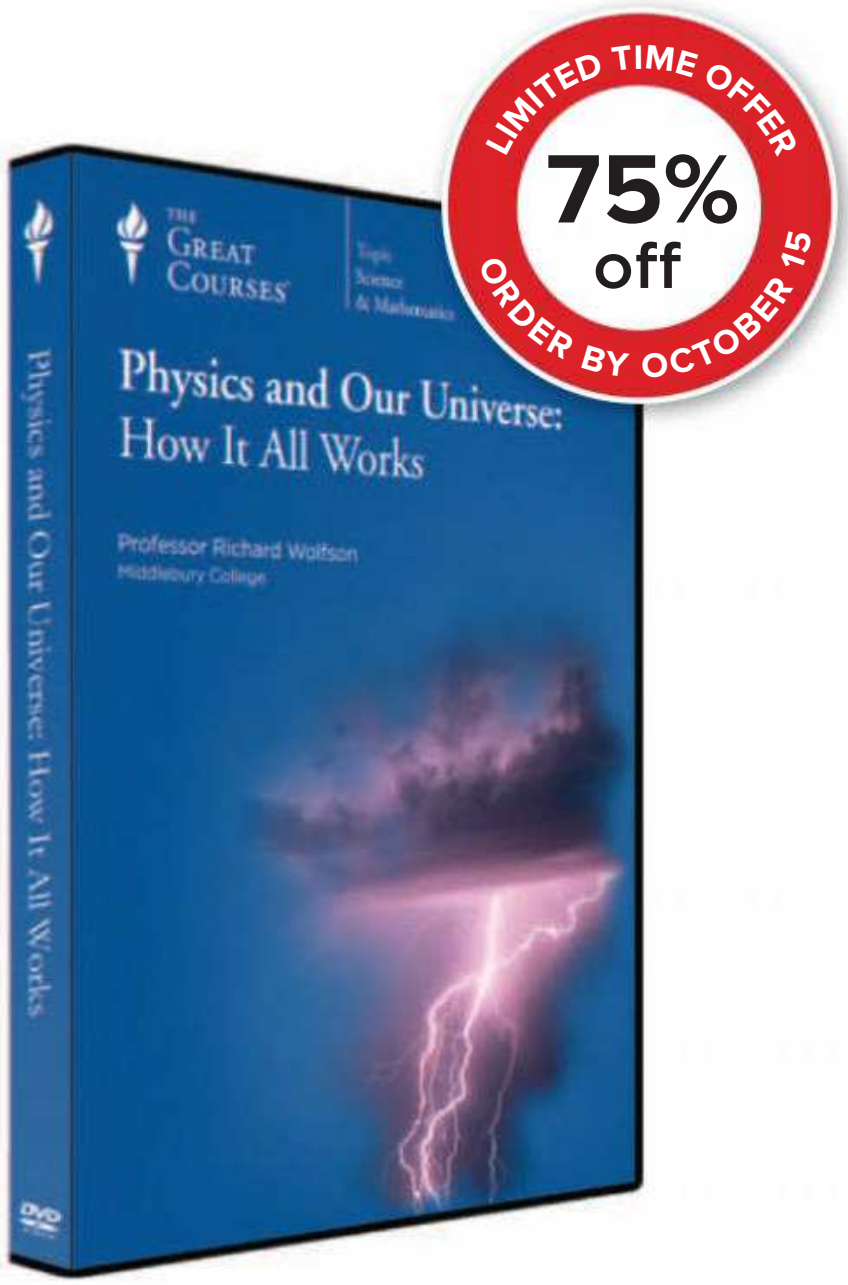

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DIED
Notorious hoaxer **Alan Abel,** who in 1980 fooled the New York *Times* into running his obituary, on Sept. 14 at 94.

WON
The Democratic nomination for a third term by **New York Governor Andrew Cuomo** on Sept. 13, beating a primary challenge from actor and activist Cynthia Nixon.

REMOVED
A sculpture of a Native American man lying at the feet of a Spanish cowboy, from San Francisco's Civic Center Plaza on Sept. 14. The city's arts commission unanimously voted to remove the "racist" sculpture.

ARRESTED
Former Malaysian Prime Minister Najib Razak on Sept. 19 over **corruption charges** related to money allegedly siphoned off from scandal-hit state fund 1Malaysia Development Berhad (1MDB) into his personal bank accounts. Najib is already facing seven charges, including money laundering; prosecutors say stolen money was spent on paintings, luxury real estate and jewelry.

SUSPENDED
A senior official at the **Federal Emergency Management Agency** in relation to a Department of Homeland Security inspector-general investigation into whether FEMA chief Brock Long used government vehicles for personal reasons.

Mazzie at curtain call on the opening night of Bullets Over Broadway *at New York City's St. James Theatre on April 10, 2014*

DIED

Marin Mazzie
Marvel of musical theater

By Brian Stokes Mitchell

WHETHER YOU WERE IN THE AUDIENCE OR ONSTAGE NEXT TO her, it was difficult to tell whether Marin Mazzie was an amazing actor who could sing or an amazing singer who could act. She did both equally well—and was a paragon of passion and precision, commitment and creativity, excellence and fearlessness.

I did many shows with Marin, who died on Sept. 13 at 57 of ovarian cancer, a disease about which she did so much to raise awareness. The first of those shows was the musical *Ragtime,* and one of the moments indelibly burned into my mind was watching her sing the anthem "Back to Before" for the first time. Standing alone at center stage, Marin became a beacon of light. Every time she sang, her brilliance shone. She was just as remarkable negotiating the subtle intricacies of Sondheim as she was singing rock, pop or the American songbook. She could make you laugh, cry and think—sometimes in the same moment—and had a rare sense of comedy that ranged from physically zany to subtly refined.

No matter the role, Marin *always* had heart. And she always inspired a fellow actor and an audience to see the strength, frailty and humanity that connect us all. Broadway has lost one of its brightest lights, but the glow of her artistry will long remain.

Mitchell is a Tony Award–winning actor and singer

DISCONTINUED

The VW Beetle
Iconic automobile

"WILL WE EVER KILL THE Bug?" asked a 1965 Volkswagen advertisement. "Never."

This zesty bit of copy from a legendary ad campaign helped make the Beetle the most popular foreign car in the U.S., transforming the vehicle into a countercultural icon. And yet, on Sept. 13, faced with stalling sales, Volkswagen announced that it will halt production on the Beetle next July.

The Beetle was born at the behest of Adolf Hitler, who wanted a practical vehicle for the German middle class. Although associations between the car and Nazism were slow to dissipate after the war, it eventually became an international success—and, perhaps ironically, a symbol of a peace-loving era.

The Bug's popularity declined after its cheerfully anti-materialistic mid-'60s heyday, but its nostalgic appeal endured. When VW introduced the New Beetle in 1998, it was snapped up by baby boomers and Gen X-ers alike. Now, with electric cars gaining ground and self-driving vehicles on the horizon, the Beetle may in its death once again become a symbol of something bigger than one little car—this time, the end of a century-long era of transportation.

—ALEJANDRO DE LA GARZA

MAZZIE: WALTER MCBRIDE—GETTY IMAGES; VW: GETTY IMAGES

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Whistle-blower **Christopher Wylie** on life after taking down Cambridge Analytica

By Billy Perrigo/London

ON A CRISP MORNING IN EARLY SEPTEMBER, Christopher Wylie is waiting opposite Google's London headquarters. It's a brightly colored building that stands out—not unlike Wylie himself, with his pink hair and nose ring. Six months on from uncovering information that shook the world's biggest social-media companies and questioned the legitimacy of the 2016 U.S. election, Wylie isn't holed up in an embassy or in exile; he's living freely in London.

The week before we meet, Google declined to send a senior executive to testify before the Senate on Sept. 5 about the role of tech companies in election meddling by foreign actors. At the hearing, Twitter chief executive Jack Dorsey and Facebook chief operating officer Sheryl Sandberg testified that their companies were taking sufficient action to protect the November midterms from foreign interference. "We are learning from what happened, and we are improving," Sandberg said.

"I call bullsh-t on that," says Wylie, 29, who has become a cheerleader for greater regulation online. "The idea that we should trust the security of our digital spaces to private companies that have no accountability except to themselves is ridiculous."

Wylie speaks with a certain authority on the matter. In March, he publicly revealed how Cambridge Analytica, a political consultancy he helped found in 2013, used illegally obtained Facebook data to psychologically profile voters for electoral campaigns. Canadian-born Wylie had been the brains behind the company's methodology but left in fall 2014, reportedly unhappy with his bosses' willingness to work with right-wing politicians.

Now he has given evidence to the Senate Judiciary Committee about Cambridge Analytica's contacts with Russia and work with Donald Trump's campaign and to a U.K. inquiry investigating the role of fake news in the 2016 E.U. referendum. His revelations kicked off a debate about the untrammeled power of tech giants and the vulnerability of Western democracies to disinformation—concerns that, Wylie says, social-media companies have failed to address as U.S. midterms approach. "They have been completely obstructionist," he says.

Their reluctance may not come as a surprise. Facebook's stock price fell 7% after Wylie revealed that data obtained from a quiz app on its site was being used by political campaigns to identify people's specific characteristics—such as openness, conscientiousness and neuroticism. Cambridge Analytica used this data to target voters with political content tailored to their individual psychological profile.

More damaging to Facebook, the app was allowed to scrape the personal details of the friends of anybody who had used it. In all, Cambridge Analytica took data from 30 million to 87 million profiles and combined it with data from sources like TV set-top boxes and credit cards to build an incredibly detailed picture of segments of the U.S. electorate.

Trump campaign officials said Cambridge Analytica only "provided limited staffing" in 2016 and that none of the Facebook data was used. But Trump's son-in-law Jared Kushner had previously boasted of the company's involvement, while CEO Alexander Nix was recorded saying, "Our data informed all the strategy." Without that data, Wylie believes Trump's victory might not have happened. "I think about it a lot," he says.

AFTER LEAVING SCHOOL in Canada at 16, Wylie—who was diagnosed with attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder and dyslexia as a teenager—threw himself into learning about the political uses of data. By 20, he found himself in London juggling his university studies with work on voter targeting for the U.K.'s centrist Liberal Democrats. Then, in 2013, Wylie stumbled across some research funded by the U.S. military agency DARPA into psychological profiling using social data. He took these findings out of a laboratory context and set about applying them at the national level.

Though Wylie left Cambridge Analytica well before his work was adapted for the Trump campaign, the damage was done. Wylie had already shown his profiling tool to billionaire Robert Mercer—who partly owned and funded Cambridge Analytica and went on to become a Trump mega-donor; he had also shared it with Trump's future campaign chief Stephen Bannon.

Wylie says his real failure was not realizing the "potential misuse" of his research earlier. "You're going to get a situation where you've created an atomic bomb," he says, pausing before carrying on more softly. "And that harms a lot of people."

Leaving Google's office behind, we make our way past Cambridge Analytica's old headquarters, on New Oxford Street. Wylie barely looks at the polished revolving doors through which, six months earlier, his former boss was bundled by aides to avoid waiting journalists. The company attempted to ride out the storm caused by Wylie's revelations but eventually found itself forced to close in May after several clients bailed.

Wylie is keen to leave that chapter of his life

WYLIE QUICK FACTS

High school dropout
Wylie left school at 16 but later graduated from the London School of Economics with a law degree.

Rising star
By the age of 21, Wylie had worked with Canada's Liberal Party, the U.K.'s Liberal Democrats and Obama's national targeting director.

Unwelcome
Wylie is blocked from Facebook and Instagram but occasionally posts to his 114,000 followers on Twitter.

ANDREW TESTA—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

behind. He says he has tried to redeem himself by raising awareness of just how vulnerable social-media users are to exploitation, whether by foreign actors, shady political consultancies or the companies themselves. It's a task made harder by the fact he's still banned from Facebook, a company that he says has unique, unregulated power over public discourse. (Facebook declined to comment.)

"It's very hard to participate in society when you can't talk to people on the medium that they talk to other people on," he says. If social-media platforms are going to call themselves communities, he adds, "there should be transparency and oversight, which is a role for government."

Chief among his concerns is that Western democracies are sleepwalking into yet more elections without taking sufficient action to reduce the chances of another Cambridge Analytica or another Trump-Russia saga. Compare the unregulated social-media landscape to food, electricity and airplane safety laws, he says. "When you get into an airplane, do you feel safe?" He doesn't wait for an answer. "Most people would say yes, and that's because there are rules in place. You might get on a plane once or twice a year. You check your phone 150 times a day. This impacts people's lives on an hour-by-hour basis, and there are no rules." But how can real regulation happen in a cyberspace that transcends national borders? "It is possible to create some common ground rules on the Internet in our international framework of nation states," he says. "The infrastructure of our democracy is just open season right now."

'Social media impacts people's lives on an hour-by-hour basis, and there are no rules.'

CHRISTOPHER WYLIE

Although he continues pushing for tech regulation, Wylie has left political consulting to work in fashion, using data to spot trends. That informs a political metaphor he's been thinking about lately. "I think about Donald Trump like I think about Crocs, the hideous shoes. There's a period of time where no one would ever wear them. Then all of a sudden everyone wears Crocs, and a couple of years later people look at photos of themselves and go, 'What the f-ck was I just wearing—that was hideous.'" It's a lesson that also applies online, he suggests. "People are willing to do really ugly things if lots of other people are also doing them." ◻

FOOD

Why full-fat milk is booming

By Jamie Ducharme

MILK IS FAR FROM TRENDY. WITH a crowd of breakfast-beverage options and milk alternatives, Americans have been drinking less dairy for decades.

But while sales of skim have plummeted, whole milk is growing more popular, bringing in $5.3 billion last year, according to market-research firm Mintel. "One of the bright spots is that consumers are moving to higher-fat milk," says Cary Frye, senior vice president of regulatory affairs at the International Dairy Foods Association (IDFA), a trade group representing dairy manufacturers and marketers. Whole milk—which is made with 3.25% milk fat—now accounts for 38% of the milk market, compared with 29% five years ago, she says.

Whole milk's rising reputation is due in part to recent studies that have challenged the long-held belief that low-fat dairy is nutritionally superior, since it contains fewer calories and less saturated fat. "Focusing on low fat is predominantly based on the assumption that saturated fat increases LDL cholesterol," says Mahshid Dehghan, a nutrition epidemiologist at the Population Health Research Institute in Canada. But full-fat dairy also contains plenty of nutrients, including vitamin K, calcium, magnesium and protein, and some research suggests that fatty acids and microbes in these products may help regulate blood sugar and insulin levels.

The U.S. dietary guidelines still recommend low- and no-fat dairy. But new research suggests that full-fat dairy may be a healthy choice. In September, Dehghan and her colleagues published an observational study in the *Lancet* finding that people who ate three servings of dairy per day—especially the whole-fat kind—had lower risks of early death, cardiovascular disease and stroke than those who ate less than a serving a day. Other research finds that people who eat full-fat dairy are no more likely to develop heart disease than those who eat low-fat versions, and they may even be less prone to Type 2 diabetes and weight gain—probably because they stay full longer. Studies have also found that people who cut their fat intake tend to replace the missing calories with unhealthy refined carbohydrates.

'Whole-milk products are catching up really, really fast. There's definitely been a big shift.'

Siggi Hilmarsson, founder of Icelandic-yogurt company Siggi's

The message seems to be resonating with shoppers. Bolstered by new offerings from brands like Chobani and Stonyfield, whole-fat yogurt sales increased 25% from 2016 to 2017, according to the IDFA. The best seller at Siggi's, which makes thick, Icelandic-style yogurt with milk-fat contents ranging from 0% to 9%, is still fat-free vanilla, but "the whole-milk products are catching up really, really fast," says the company's founder, Siggi Hilmarsson. "There's definitely been a big shift." (The likely explanation? "It tastes delicious," he says.)

For that reason, Frye predicts that the high-fat dairy craze will persist. "The research that has been evolving and has been in the general press has given consumers permission to choose products that they like," she says. ◻

Plant milks make big inroads

Nondairy alternatives like almond, soy and coconut milk are among the fastest-growing beverages—perhaps because 39% of Americans are trying to eat a more plant-based diet, a 2017 survey by the research firm Nielsen found. While cow's milk is still a much larger market than plant-based beverages, sales of plant milks rose by 61% from 2012 to January 2018 and they raked in an estimated $2.11 billion last year, according to market-research firm Mintel.

But plant milks are also a subject of controversy. With the dairy industry's support, the Food and Drug Administration is mulling a policy that would bar brands from calling nonanimal products milk. The agency is accepting public comment until Oct. 11 and will make a decision soon after.

Whatever they're called, nondairy drinks aren't going anywhere. New options (like quinoa, oat and even peanut milk) are hitting shelves all the time. —*J.D.*

61%

Increase in plant-milk sales from 2012 to January 2018

GETTY IMAGES (2)

THICK
RICH
DELICIOUS

NOTHING ELSE TASTES LIKE

After the typhoon

Survivors of a landslide make their way to safety in the mining town of Itogon, in the northern Philippines, on Sept. 17, two days after the supertyphoon Mangkhut triggered the disaster. First responders pulled at least 43 bodies from the wreckage of a gold miners' bunkhouse that was buried when torrential rains loosened the hillside above it. The tentative death toll for Mangkhut, which had the strongest winds of any storm in 2018 so far, stands at 69, including four people killed after the storm moved on to southern China.

Photograph by Jes Aznar—The New York Times/Redux

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The View

WORLD

WHAT THE CRISIS WREAKED

By Ian Bremmer

Ten years on, the reverberations from the global financial crisis are still shaking up the world order. While the catastrophe led to movements toward nationalism in several countries, it also accelerated America's departure from its position as leader of the world—and in the void, a new power has begun to rise.

INSIDE

ONE THING COLLEGES SHOULDN'T TEACH STUDENTS

HOW LEARNING CERTAIN WORDS CAN MAKE YOU HAPPIER

REDEFINING NFL ARCHETYPES—BY RETIRING

Confidence that the U.S. is a force for international stability began eroding well before Lehman Brothers declared bankruptcy. U.S. policymakers had presided over a downsizing of the nation's role in the world in advance of the 2008 crash, and Americans elected increasingly isolationist Presidents. Widespread opposition to the U.S.-led war in Iraq marked a crucial post–Cold War turning point by aligning the views of a majority of America's European allies with Russia.

The financial crisis and all that followed sharply exacerbated these negative attitudes by calling into question the long-term viability of Western capitalism. (If the U.S. can't properly regulate its own banks, how can it serve as a model for developing countries?) The search for an alternative model took on new urgency.

Traders at the New York Mercantile Exchange on Sept. 16, 2008

A decade ago, China wasn't yet ready to offer one. But the U.S.-based meltdown presented Beijing with an unprecedented opportunity to showcase the virtues of state-driven economic development. The country's political leaders demonstrated their ability to respond to the crisis with fast and effective emergency measures. In 2008, China's economy was smaller than Japan's. Today it's more than twice as large—and about equal to the combined total of the 19 countries that use the euro. As China's economy expanded, so did its influence.

Stability had rarely been more appealing. A sovereign debt crisis created existential threats for the euro zone. A collapse in commodity prices—in late 2008, oil fell from $147 per barrel to about $30 per barrel in less than five months—helped create conditions for the wave of unrest that toppled governments in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya; set the Saudis on edge; and shoved Syria and Yemen into civil war. Waves of desperate migrants fleeing this upheaval made their way north, further irritating Europe's precarious politics and inspiring pressure for tighter borders and new attitudes toward immigration.

These pressures certainly boosted support for Brexit and Trump. They also led voters to turn from traditional parties of center right and center left in France, Germany, Italy and elsewhere toward new voices and political parties promising new kinds of change. But this was not just a U.S.-European trend. Voters in Mexico and Pakistan pushed aside establishment parties and political dynasties in search of a new direction. Voters in Brazil may well follow suit in October.

TODAY, THE GLOBAL balance of power is no longer clear. Trump says the U.S. can win a trade war with China, but his political vulnerability has only emboldened Chinese President Xi Jinping. In the realm of cyberspace, meanwhile, conflicts are even more dangerous because unlike nuclear missiles, these weapons can actually be used to test an adversary's strength.

China also now offers an increasingly credible alternative to both multiparty democracy and free-market capitalism, one with real appeal for governments, particularly in the Middle East and Africa, that want to maintain a tight grip on power. As China's investments expand in every region of the world, it becomes ever more obvious that U.S. power isn't as persuasive as it used to be.

Additionally, the U.S. has not responded to the 2008 crisis by investing in the future. It's one thing to bail out industry and banks. It's another to address the country's growing inequality that leaves many people feeling as if they have no future. There is no credible plan to help those who lose jobs as the workplace automates. And Americans still invest for short-term gain rather than long-term productivity. That's why the stock market is rising while infrastructure crumbles. Ten years on, these important lessons have still not been learned.

As a result, America's longevity at the top is now very much in doubt. China, North Korea and Iran have reason to believe they can wait Trump out. And given that the U.S.'s influence has been eroding so quickly and for so long, it's clear that for the foreseeable future, its leaders will need to continue to grapple with the limits of a superpower's power. ◻

SHORT READS

Highlights from stories on **time.com/ideas**

How to step out—with love

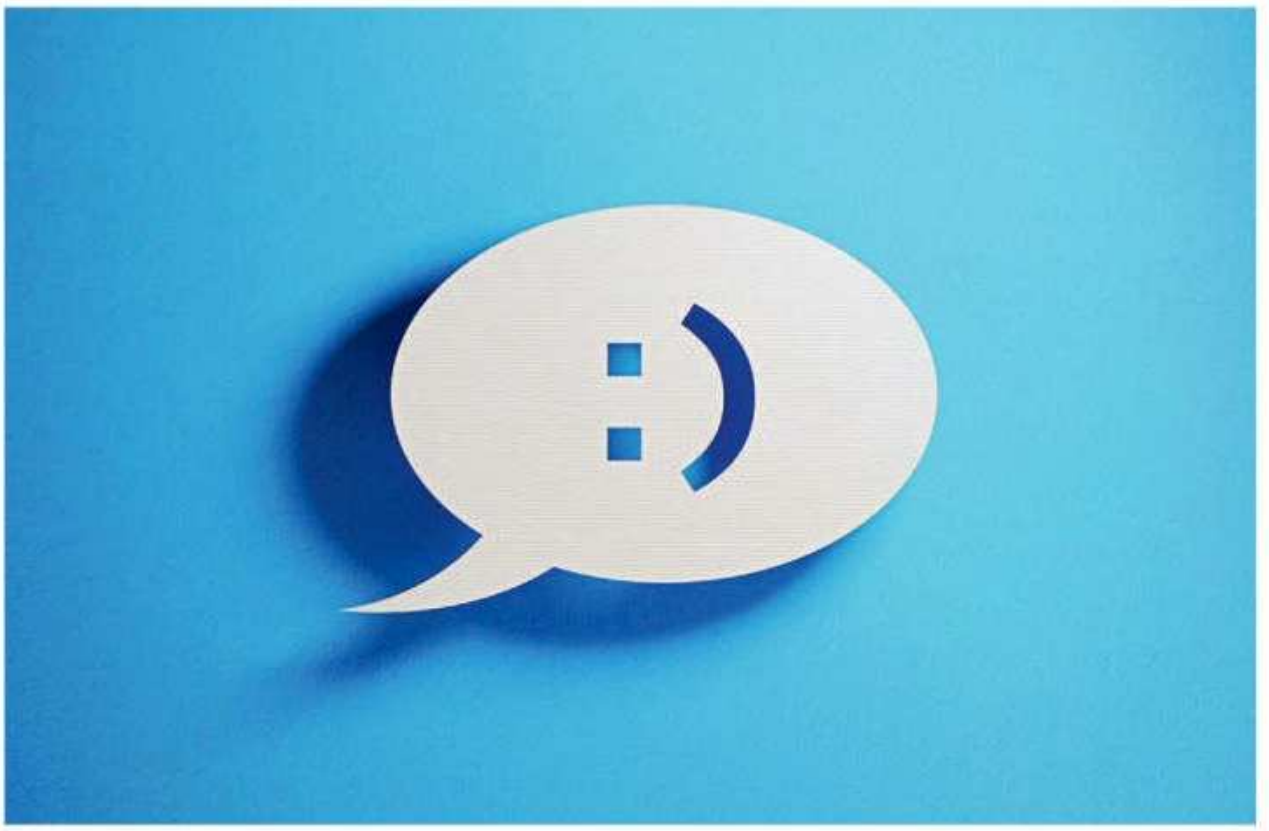
Therapists who work with people struggling to stay monogamous can attend workshops on **how to coach patients through setting guidelines for sex outside the relationship**—as Wednesday Martin does in her new book, *Untrue.* One rule her group proposes: "Your new person doesn't get to meet the dog."

Bad lessons in identity politics

"Campus culture often coaches students to see bias where none exists," writes Heather Mac Donald, author of the new book *The Diversity Delusion,* who argues that **colleges encourage a false sense of victimhood** in women and minority students—in a setting specifically designed to make them succeed.

The pains of immigration

"She has no idea, **just like I have no idea what it's like to lose a son,**" writes Jose Antonio Vargas, an undocumented immigrant, of trying to explain his experience to a woman whose son was killed by an undocumented immigrant, in an excerpt from his book *Dear America.*



LANGUAGE

The unique joy of learning new words

By Katy Steinmetz

WITH ALL THAT'S HAPPENING IN THE news, life can feel like an exercise in determining the particular kind of bad we are experiencing. Are we anxious or depressed? Lonely or stressed?

Tim Lomas, a senior lecturer in positive psychology at the University of East London, is engaged in the opposite endeavor: analyzing all the types of well-being that he can find. Specifically, Lomas is seeking to uncover psychological insights by collecting untranslatable words that describe pleasurable feelings we don't have terms for in English. "It's almost like each one is a window onto a new landscape," Lomas says. So far, with the help of many contributors, he has amassed nearly 1,000 in what he calls a "positive lexicography"—including the Dutch *pretoogjes,* which refers to the twinkling eyes of someone engaged in benign mischief; the Arabic *tarab,* a word for musically induced ecstasy; and the Creole *tabanca,* which describes the bittersweet feeling of being left by someone you love. (Search for "positive lexicography" online and you can find his database.)

People are fascinated with untranslatable words in part because they are useful: How else could we talk to each other about the guilty pleasure of *schadenfreude*? But Lomas also sees them as a means of showing us "new possibilities for ways of living," describing them as invitations for people to experience happy phenomena that may previously have been "hidden from them" or to revel in feelings they couldn't previously name. Consider the Japanese *ohanami,* a word for gathering with others to appreciate flowers.

Linguists have long argued about how much the language we speak—partly determined by factors like geography and climate—limits the thoughts we are capable of having or the actions we can take. "The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached," wrote the theorist Edward Sapir.

Perusing the words in Lomas' collection, at the least, is a means of meditating on ways that we can feel good. When asked for one of his favorites, the psychologist lists the German *Fernweh,* which describes a longing to travel to distant lands, a kind of homesickness for the unexplored. Also delightful is the Danish *morgenfrisk,* describing the satisfaction one gets from a good night's sleep, and the Latin *otium,* highlighting the joy of being in control of one's own time. □

FINANCIAL CRISIS: SETH WENIG—AP/SHUTTERSTOCK; SMILE: ISTOCKPHOTO/GETTY IMAGES; DAVIS: TOM SZCZERBOWSKI—GETTY IMAGES

SPORTS

New courage in the NFL

When Buffalo Bills cornerback Vontae Davis took the essentially unprecedented step of ending his NFL career at halftime of a game on Sept. 16, the predictable rebukes swarmed him. One columnist called him "selfish." Bills linebacker Lorenzo Alexander said his actions were "disrespectful to his teammates."

After the game, Davis explained his decision in a statement. "Today on the field, reality hit me fast and hard," he said. "I shouldn't be out there anymore." After a 10-year career with several injuries, he was concerned about his health.

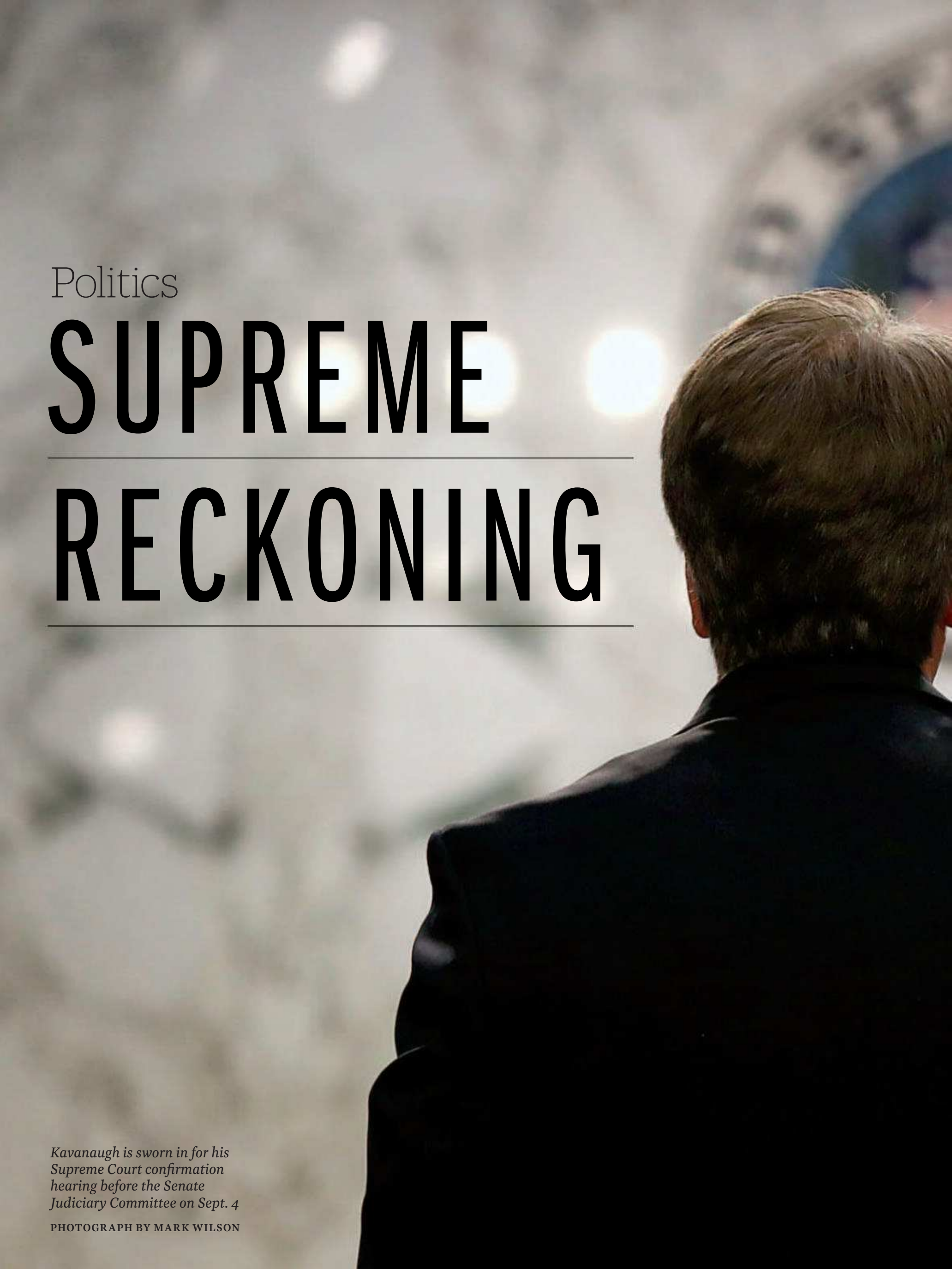
The NFL's culture often equates football with the battlefield. Players with the "warrior mentality" are lionized: your teammates are brothers in arms.

But Davis didn't go AWOL. He decided to stop playing a game. He also likely cost himself a hefty payday, as Buffalo can probably recoup most of the $5 million owed Davis this season. There is something to Davis' prioritizing his life over his football career. Let's call it bravery. —*Sean Gregory*

Ex–NFL player Vontae Davis

Politics

SUPREME RECKONING



Kavanaugh is sworn in for his Supreme Court confirmation hearing before the Senate Judiciary Committee on Sept. 4

PHOTOGRAPH BY MARK WILSON

BRETT KAVANAUGH'S CONFIRMATION HAS BECOME A PARABLE OF POLITICAL POWER IN 2018

BY MOLLY BALL

From the beginning, the women were determined to be disruptive. There sat Brett Kavanaugh, looking every bit the world's most decent man, with his even demeanor and sparkling résumé, ready to go through the motions and receive the benediction of the Senators before him.

Since the day of his nomination to the U.S. Supreme Court, Kavanaugh had portrayed himself as a champion of women. Introducing himself to the nation, he emphasized the women he cherished, saying his mother, a judge, was his ultimate role model, talking about his daughters and the "majority" of female law clerks he'd hired. Members of the girls' basketball teams he's coached sat in the front rows behind him at his Senate confirmation hearing. Earlier, he had recited the names of his daughter's teammates: "Anna, Quinn, Kelsey, Ceane, Chloe, Alex, Ava, Sophia and Margaret," he said. "I love helping the girls grow into confident players."

He had spent a lifetime pushing all the right buttons, and now nothing seemed to stand between the conservative federal judge and a seat on the nation's highest court. But one after another, women interrupted. Protesters popped up in the back of the room, yelling and waving signs before being hustled out by police. Women Senators spoke out of turn: "Mr. Chairman, I'd like to be recognized," pleaded Democrat Kamala Harris of California, to no avail. Kavanaugh sat quietly in the middle of it all, a cherubic smile on his face.

But the women, it turned out, weren't done disrupting him. Just when the end seemed in sight—his confirmation vote less than a week away after a hearing that had turned up no more than the usual partisan angst—Christine Blasey Ford, a California college professor, decided to put her name to a devastating accusation, charging that, some 36 years prior, when they were both in high school, Kavanaugh had sexually assaulted her.

It was a hazy accusation: hesitantly lodged, short on detail and curiously timed. But Ford's charge shattered Kavanaugh's carefully crafted tableau, calling into doubt the image he projected. The row of young girls, legs bare in their private-school skirts, looked different now. In the ensuing scramble, Kavanaugh's confirmation vote was postponed, and he and Ford were invited to testify before the committee on Sept. 24. The prospect of such an extraordinary public hearing conjured obvious parallels to Anita Hill and Clarence Thomas. Twenty-seven years later, another professor with misgivings about coming forward had leveled allegations against a conservative Supreme Court nominee on the eve of his confirmation. And what had seemed a done deal became a fraught and fitting modern morality play.

But while the political spectacle may be similar, this battle will unfold in a different era. Every week brings new variations on the theme of women, racked with pain and rage, rising up in protest after too many years of trauma and terrified silence. Every week, too, has brought fresh reminders of the extent to which our whole reality is the product of the privilege and

prejudices of entitled men. They decided what the story was, who got ahead, what the laws were and to whom they applied. Who lived and who died, from prisoners on death row to the fetus in the womb. Who was believed and who was destroyed. The men handled the disruptions quickly and quietly, with lawyers and payments and handshakes, with the grip of a policeman's fist and a gavel pounded on a desk. Until suddenly there were too many to be contained.

Kavanaugh rejects the charge made against him. "I categorically and unequivocally deny this allegation," he said in response. "I did not do this back in high school or at any time." The White House has stood behind him, and his supporters say he is determined to surmount this last-minute obstacle. "What is being attempted here is a smear campaign to destroy his reputation as a decent man, and he's not going to allow that to happen," says a source involved in the confirmation process who speaks to Kavanaugh regularly. "He's steadfast in his resolve to see it through and to tell the truth and to clear his name."

Kavanaugh answers questions from members of the Senate Judiciary Committee on Sept. 6

PREVIOUS PAGES: GETTY IMAGES; THESE PAGES: MARK PETERSON—REDUX

His opponents say this must be the time when the scales tip in the other direction. "Now is our moment," says Ilyse Hogue, head of the abortion-rights group NARAL. "We've had enough. We're not going to take any more. Women are determined to make this a turning point in this country."

With just a few weeks to go until the first national election of the Trump era, one in which all signs point to a tsunami of female rage as the decisive factor, a dramatic face-off between Kavanaugh and his accuser may be on the horizon—a showdown between two individuals and their memories of what did or didn't happen so many years ago. But the stakes go beyond that, to who is believed and who decides the truth at this turbulent moment in America. Decisions—a high schooler's, a judge's, a middle-aged professor's—have consequences. How the Kavanaugh drama plays out could be the ultimate test of today's struggle for political and cultural power.

IT WAS 1982 or thereabouts: "Eye of the Tiger," Reaganomics, *E.T.* Christine Blasey, approximately 15, lived in an affluent suburb of Washington, D.C., and attended an elite all-girls private school in Bethesda, Md. One summer night, perhaps after a day at the country-club pool, she went to a party at someone's house. She was wearing her one-piece bathing suit under her clothes.

She drank beer in the family room, along with some boys she didn't know well. They were from Georgetown Prep, the all-boys private school a few miles away. The boys at Georgetown Prep had fathers who were lobbyists and businessmen and government officials. They were being groomed to perpetuate the prosperity and status into which they'd been born.

In Ford's account, Kavanaugh pushed her into a bedroom as she came up the stairs. Loud music was playing. His friend Mark Judge, across the room, was laughing, Ford recalled, as a drunken Kavanaugh pinned her down and tried to get under her clothes to her teenage body.

Ford wasn't laughing. She was terrified. What if I die? she thought. She tried to scream, but he covered her mouth with his hand. He fumbled, frustrated, with her swimsuit. Finally, after Judge jumped on them, she wriggled free, locked herself in a bathroom and, when she'd heard the boys leave the room, ran out of the house, she said in an interview with the Washington *Post*.

About a decade later, as Ford moved through young adulthood to her academic career, a different man, Clarence Thomas, was nominated to the Supreme Court. Anita Hill, a woman who'd worked with him, came forward to accuse him of a prolonged campaign of sexual harassment. She faced a wall of male Senators from both parties, who needled and disbelieved her, and voted through the nominee, after

he called the hearing a "high-tech lynching." A year later there was an election, and women mobbed the polls, vastly expanding their numbers in Congress. Hill had lost her confrontation with the forces of power, but she'd helped propel a decades-long shift in the way women perceived their place in society.

Many more years would pass before Christine Blasey Ford confronted what she said happened when she was a teenager. Thirty years after the alleged incident, a 51-year-old married mother of two working as a research psychologist at a university in Northern California, it still weighed on her. She'd never told anyone the details of the incident until, in 2012, she related the story to her therapist and her husband. Notes from that session largely corroborate her account, according to the *Post* story, but if Ford said the boy's name, the therapist didn't write it down.

By July 2018, the boy she remembered was mentioned on the short list of potential nominees to the Supreme Court. The last thing she wanted was to be caught in the middle of that—she had a quiet life, was politically liberal but hardly an activist, had suffered enough already. But it didn't feel right not to say anything. So she sent a letter to her Congresswoman and left an anonymous message on a newspaper tip line. She figured they would find a way to do something about it; she figured she could keep her name out of it.

The Congresswoman and the newspaper didn't know what to do with the anonymous accusation. The boy was on course to replace his former boss, retiring Justice Anthony Kennedy, potentially changing the face of American law by cementing a conservative majority for a generation. On July 30, Ford wrote a letter to California Senator Dianne Feinstein, the top Democrat on the Judiciary Committee, saying Kavanaugh had assaulted her but requesting anonymity. Feinstein said nothing publicly until mid-September, when, with Kavanaugh on the cusp of his confirmation vote, she announced that she had referred an unspecified matter to the FBI.

Ford had hired a lawyer and taken a lie-detector test, but as rumors circulated and reporters started showing up at her door, she concluded she would have to put her name behind the allegation. "Now I feel like my civic responsibility is outweighing my anguish and terror about retaliation," she told the Washington *Post* in a detailed account that is the only public statement she has made. Ford's lawyer didn't respond to an interview request for this article.

For his part, Kavanaugh stood by his blanket denial. "This is a completely false allegation," he said. "I have never done anything like what the accuser describes—to her or to anyone."

Ford's charges against Kavanaugh have echoes of the 1991 confirmation battle between Thomas, left, and Hill

THE REACTION WAS SWIFT and furious. The Senate delayed a Sept. 20 committee vote on Kavanaugh, and Judiciary chairman Chuck Grassley scheduled a hearing for Monday, Sept. 24. Ford had said she was willing to give her testimony to the Senate, but on Sept. 18 her lawyer announced that Ford wanted a proper investigation first. Democrats insisted more time was needed for the FBI to probe the matter; by midweek it wasn't clear whether the planned hearing would go forward.

Ford's fears about going public have been validated. Furious partisans bombarded her with threats and abuse

Ford's fears about going public have been validated. Furious partisans bombarded her with threats and abuse, forcing her to hire security and move out of her home temporarily, her lawyer said. Ford also received an outpouring of support, the lawyer added. The White House of Donald Trump—a President who has been accused of sexual misconduct by at least 19 women, has been caught on tape boasting about sexual assault and has admitted to paying off women who claim to have had affairs with him—was measured in its response. Senior counselor Kellyanne Conway said Ford "should not be insulted and should not be ignored." Trump, who has called all his accusers liars and frequently expressed sympathy for men accused of sexual misconduct, lamented the accusation but said it merited a delay in the process.

At the same time, Republicans geared up to defend Kavanaugh. A conservative group announced it would spend $1.5 million to air an ad featuring a longtime female friend attesting to his character. Advocates released supportive statements from two of his former girlfriends. The suite of offices on the fourth floor of the Eisenhower Executive Office Building that served as the nerve center for Kavanaugh's nomination hearings once again bustled with activity. Kavanaugh huddled with White House counsel Don McGahn, who is shepherding his nomination, and repeated his blanket denials, a White House official said. He made calls to lawmakers and spent hours in mock cross-examination

MARK REINSTEIN—CORBIS/GETTY IMAGES (2)

about the allegation, his conduct and his character.

Because he has explicitly denied ever behaving in the manner Ford described, any evidence that supports her account would shatter his credibility. "He emphatically denied that the allegations were true," said Senator Susan Collins, the moderate Maine Republican who is considered a key swing vote, after discussing the allegations with Kavanaugh in an hourlong phone conversation. "He said that he had never acted that way, not only with this unnamed accuser but with any woman. He was absolutely emphatic about that." Collins added, "Obviously, if Judge Kavanaugh has lied about what happened, that would be disqualifying."

At the same time, the details missing from Ford's story make it equally possible that evidence will emerge to undermine it. She says she is not sure when the alleged incident occurred, who hosted the party or how she got to the party. The source involved in the process expects new revelations to fill what he called the "gaps" in Ford's story. "An individual who puts an allegation out with some serious gaps invites that kind of gap filling," the source says. "Sometimes that gap filling helps corroborate what's already there, and sometimes it completely blows the story out of the water."

The same moderate Republicans and red-state Democrats to whom Kavanaugh's squeaky-clean introduction was targeted are now jittery and hesitant about his confirmation prospects. Collins and Senator Lisa Murkowski, another Republican who supports abortion rights, were among the first to call for hearings. Democrats Heidi Heitkamp, Joe Donnelly, Jon Tester, Claire McCaskill and Joe Manchin, all of whom are up for re-election in states Trump won handily and were considered possible votes for Kavanaugh, also called for further investigation. The GOP's one-vote majority means that without any Democratic votes, it can afford only one defection to get the nomination through.

All this comes against the backdrop of an election season that was already shaping up as a referendum on male impunity and female empowerment. Before Ford came forward, the major issues in Kavanaugh's hearings were how he might rule on cases related to abortion and Trump's susceptibility to prosecution—two issues that relate directly to the same questions of power and autonomy. Both parties have every incentive to fight to the finish: Democrats see an opportunity to galvanize their already furious base, while Republicans, who'd hoped to put a big election-eve win on the board, fear discouraging theirs.

Into this storm will step two people, a man and a woman, who were once a boy and a girl, who may or may not have collided on a hot suburban night so many years ago. What happens next will answer the central question: Decisions have consequences—but for whom? —*With reporting by* CHARLOTTE ALTER *and* ALANA ABRAMSON/NEW YORK; PHILIP ELLIOTT/TAMPA; *and* BRIAN BENNETT, TESSA BERENSON, ABBY VESOULIS *and* JUSTIN WORLAND/WASHINGTON ☐

VIEWPOINT

A DISGRACEFUL PROCESS

BY THEODORE B. OLSON

HOW LOW WE HAVE SUNK. THE DEMOCRATS have demanded an FBI investigation into an alleged drunken sexual assault from 36 years ago, between teenagers, at a party in a private home. The accuser doesn't remember exactly when the offense took place or exactly how she got to the house. And she allowed her name to be publicly associated with the accusation only after the completion of a two-month investigation into its subject, Judge Brett Kavanaugh, by the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee and two days of questioning by 18 Senators—and several prior investigations, including by the FBI, during Kavanaugh's ascension to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit.

In our history, most of America's distinguished Justices were appointed in a process marked by dignity and decorum. But while the nominees from Presidents Bush, Obama and Trump have been outstanding individuals with impeccable credentials, today's confirmation proceedings are characterized by acrimony, political grandstanding, nasty charges, protests, mischaracterizations and quite possibly defamatory innuendo. Nominees must answer invasive questions about their jobs, speeches, personal relationships, movie-rental history and debts from buying baseball tickets with friends—as well as their views on subjects that may come before the court, which they could not possibly answer without, in Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg's words, displaying "disdain for the entire judicial process."

It is surprising that anyone of the character, integrity and standing required of our highest court would allow their names to be submitted for such deplorable treatment. But the Senators in charge of these proceedings seem to enjoy the images they are projecting. If so, the process will not improve. And worthy nominees will suffer.

Olson, a partner at Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher, has argued 63 cases before the U.S. Supreme Court; he testified Sept. 7 on behalf of Kavanaugh

AFTER THE SILENCE IS BROKEN

#METOO WENT VIRAL ONE YEAR AGO, AND NOW IT'S CLEAR THAT JUST LISTENING TO WOMEN IS NOT ENOUGH

BY ELIANA DOCKTERMAN

THE MORNING AFTER CHLOE DYKSTRA POSTED AN essay online, she woke up and checked Twitter, as she does every day. "I opened trending and saw my face," she says. "It was the most terrifying thing I have ever experienced. I was just like, 'No, no, no.'"

Dykstra had written about what she described as an emotionally and sexually abusive relationship with an unnamed ex-boyfriend. With a little investigative work, the Internet quickly identified her ex as Chris Hardwick, host of the *Talking Dead* show and founder of Nerdist. (Hardwick denied the allegations.) At first her account was flooded with encouraging messages. "Then the tide kind of shifted," she says. "I was attacked relentlessly. There was an organized group of people online whose sole purpose was to try to disprove me. I was terrified people were going to figure out where I lived."

In the glorious first moments of a revolution, shots ring out, tyrants fall, and visionaries rally the exploited. Last year, that rallying cry was #MeToo, and as the hashtag went viral, with survivors sharing their stories of sexual assault and harassment, hundreds of alleged abusers lost their positions of power.

What some dismissed as a moment a year ago evolved into a sustaining movement. In September, CBS head Les Moonves stepped down after six women accused him of harassment—allegations he denies. And Christine Blasey Ford has brought into question the Supreme Court nomination of Brett Kavanaugh, who she says assaulted her at a high school party in the 1980s, an allegation he denies.

For decades, the public ignored or ridiculed claims of harassment or assault. Now the news of the day suggests women are more likely to be heard. But away from the headlines, it's not so simple. In a national poll of 1,000 women conducted by TIME with SSRS, 60% of the women surveyed felt the environment for women in their workplace had not changed since #MeToo, and 51% say they are no more likely to report sexual harassment now than before the hashtag went viral.

As the dust settles and the public's attention drifts, survivors and activists attempt the complicated work of creating lasting change—collecting signatures for new legislation, pushing to eradicate boys' clubs by urging the hiring and promotion of women, and assuring that the movement continues, especially in average workplaces. And that's all while dealing with what comes after publicly declaring #MeToo.

"After months of reading horrible things about myself, I got to such a low point that I considered ending it," Dykstra says. "I didn't really have guidance because you can't really Google, 'How to handle being an accuser?'"

SILENCE BREAKERS Dana Lewis, Lindsay Meyer and Juana Melara were all featured in TIME's 2017 Person of the Year issue.

PHOTOGRAPH BY DANIEL DORSA FOR TIME

WHEN TRISH NELSON took the stage in front of hundreds of chefs and restaurateurs at a conference in Copenhagen last month to talk about how they could improve kitchen culture, she froze. "I was terrified that I'd be booed off the stage," she says. "Finally I put down the script and just told them, 'I'm one of the women who came forward about Mario Batali and Ken Friedman.'" She'd already faced criticism for speaking out, and as she surveyed the crowd, she recognized friends and fans of celebrity chef Batali and prominent restaurateur Friedman, whom Nelson and nine other women had accused of grabbing them and making sexual comments in Friedman's New York restaurant the Spotted Pig. (Friedman has disputed aspects of the accounts but apologized for his "abrasive" behavior. Batali has said he doesn't recall specific events but apologized for general behavior and is currently under investigation in New York and Boston following allegations of other assaults.)

Yet Nelson was pleasantly surprised when, afterward, dozens of chefs approached her to talk about how they planned to hire more female sous chefs or make their kitchens friendlier to female servers. Since coming forward in December, she has become an advocate for the fair treatment of women in restaurants, where some 80% of waiters and waitresses report experiencing sexual harassment at the hands of guests and chefs, according to a 2014 national survey.

While the cultures of individual restaurants are determined by the attitude and whims of their owners and chefs, workers have been taking matters into their own hands. On Sept. 18, McDonald's employees walked out in what organizers called the first nationwide strike to protest workplace sexual harassment. They say the fast-food chain failed to make changes

‘All I want is peace of mind, and I can’t get to that point yet.’

DANA LEWIS, photographed outside the Plaza Hotel on Sept. 19

after employees filed 10 complaints of sexual harassment with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in May. (McDonald's said in a statement that it is currently "engaging third-party experts" to "evolve our policies, procedures and training.")

In other areas of the service industry, survivors are making some progress. Housekeepers are routinely vulnerable to attack by guests; a 2016 survey of Seattle hotel workers found 53% of housekeepers had experienced harassment or assault at work. In July, Chicago activists helped pass the so-called Hands Off Pants On ordinance, which mandates that hotels equip employees with portable emergency-contact devices, and labor advocates are working to push similar laws in states like California. This month, five major hotel chains—Hilton, Hyatt, InterContinental, Marriott and Wyndham—pledged to equip housekeepers with panic buttons.

But other hotels remain resistant to change. Over a year after Dana Lewis alleged that two fellow employees at New York City's Plaza Hotel harassed her—one following her into a supply closet and forcibly kissing her on three different occasions—only one had been fired. (The Plaza says the other was suspended for two weeks after an arbitration hearing.) She joined a class-action lawsuit against the hotel two months before #MeToo went viral and has taken medical leave from work on the orders of her psychiatrist to cope with the emotional strain of having to work with her alleged attacker. "I do feel like the push was extremely strong last year," Lewis says. "But it's dying down just from my own experiences with the Plaza. Nothing has changed there. It's still toxic." She cannot afford to leave the job; she's a single mom, with a daughter to support.

In California, hotel worker Juana Melara—who spoke out last year about being flashed and propositioned by guests on multiple occasions while she cleaned hotel rooms—left her job to put in long hours walking door-to-door collecting signatures for a bill like Hands Off Pants On in her area of Long Beach.

"The hotels had a chance last year four weeks before #MeToo became viral to support similar protections. They didn't," Melara says. "Now we've collected 46,000 signatures to try to pass the Working Woman's bill. We wouldn't have had to do that if they had just supported the law last year. But they can't see past their noses."

ADVOCACY CAN TAKE a toll. "I don't know whether to call myself a victim or survivor," says Jessica Howard, who struggled with depression as she relived the abuse she suffered from former USA Gymnastics team doctor Larry Nassar, now serving up to 360 years in prison. "I had a dark 2017," she says. "It was a life-or-death situation for me in January."

Howard was among the first three women who came forward about Nassar and one of the 156 women who testified at his sentencing hearing. In the winter, the world watched as they took the stand, one by one, to share their experiences in a testimony that took days, and accumulated the same overwhelming effect that #MeToo had the day that ordinary women flooded social media with their experiences. But for Howard, the fact that so many women had to take the stand in order for any action to be taken remains disconcerting. "I'm still struggling with the fact that it almost takes hordes of people to make it out of the 'he said, she said' realm," she says, "for a woman or girl or child to even be taken seriously."

'I still have to think about the worst moment in my life when I go to sleep every night.'

DANA LEWIS

After the testimony, the president of Michigan State University resigned, the athletic director retired, and Nassar's boss was charged with crimes related to sexual misconduct. The university will pay out $500 million to the girls and women Nassar abused. The entire board of USA Gymnastics and the CEO of the United States Olympic Committee resigned as well, but Howard and other survivors are pushing for a complete overhaul of the sport. "They said it was just a Nassar problem," she says. "Those organizations institutionally groomed us and handed us on a platter for a sexual abuser. Had they revealed what they knew years earlier, dozens of girls would never have been molested."

While Howard continues to work as an activist, some women want to exercise their right to be heard, then simply move on with their lives. Lindsay Meyer's proudest moment in the past year came when she was featured in a story on a local San Francisco blog, not because of her role in the #MeToo movement but because her startup, Batch, was celebrating its one-year anniversary.

Meyer, who spoke up last June about the harassment she says she endured from venture capitalist Justin Caldbeck, who invested in her previous company, doesn't want to be defined by her role in the movement. (Caldbeck apologized to the women he "made uncomfortable" and resigned from his VC firm.) Change is slow in that world too: a recent poll by LeanIn.org found that men are more hesitant to interact with female subordinates in the wake of #MeToo. "I think aside from a few nasty VCs who were ousted, the same decisionmakers are still enthroned," Meyer says. "You've got more of a PR campaign about why female investors have better returns, but to me it's a lot of messaging."

Such halfhearted attempts at change can be discouraging to advocates, as they watch powerful men resume their lives mere months after losing jobs over allegations of misconduct. Ryan Seacrest returned to E! after the network quickly cleared him of accusations of harassment that the host denies. Louis CK, who admitted to exposing himself to female comedians, quietly performed a stand-up set at a comedy club. And Chris Hardwick returned to host his show on AMC after a roughly two-month suspension after

DAVID MULLER

'I didn't really have guidance because you can't really Google, "How to handle being an accuser?"'

CHLOE DYKSTRA

Dykstra's accusations.

"When I found out he had gotten his jobs back, I was actually relieved because I knew [the online harassment] wasn't going to stop until he was reinstated," Dykstra says. Still, the vitriol has yet to abate.

SAVE FOR THE UPROAR that follows a new accusation, public enthusiasm for the cause also appears to be fading even in the entertainment industry. In January 2018, the women who helped launch Time's Up wore black to the Golden Globes to protest sexism and invited anti-harassment activists as their guests. This year's Emmy Awards passed without any explicit mention of #MeToo.

Time's Up has, however, set up a $21 million legal-defense fund for women who suffer from harassment and assault at work in any industry. They're also pushing for entertainment-industry unions to create new codes of conduct that hold employers, rather than individuals, responsible for harassment in an industry where women account for 2% of cinematographers, 8% of directors and 10% of writers.

"We have been working on this issue for 25 years," says Mily Treviño-Sauceda, co-founder of Alianza Nacional de Campesinas, or National Farmworkers Women's Alliance, and herself a survivor of harassment. "There were women who came to us before this year and told us what happened but didn't want to publicly say anything because they felt shame. But when women in our community started seeing women in L.A. and women from different industries stopping the silence, they wanted to give a voice to the issue." The organization wrote a public letter of support after the Harvey Weinstein story broke, and marched alongside actors. But still, she says, it's hard to bridge the cultural divide between the farmworkers and Hollywood.

There are other challenges. In August came the revelation that Asia Argento, an Italian actor and one of Weinstein's original accusers, paid $380,000 late last year to actor Jimmy Bennett, who had accused her of assault. The news came after Argento delivered a rousing speech at the Cannes Film Festival in support of #MeToo and change in the industry. Argento has since now accused Bennett of assault.

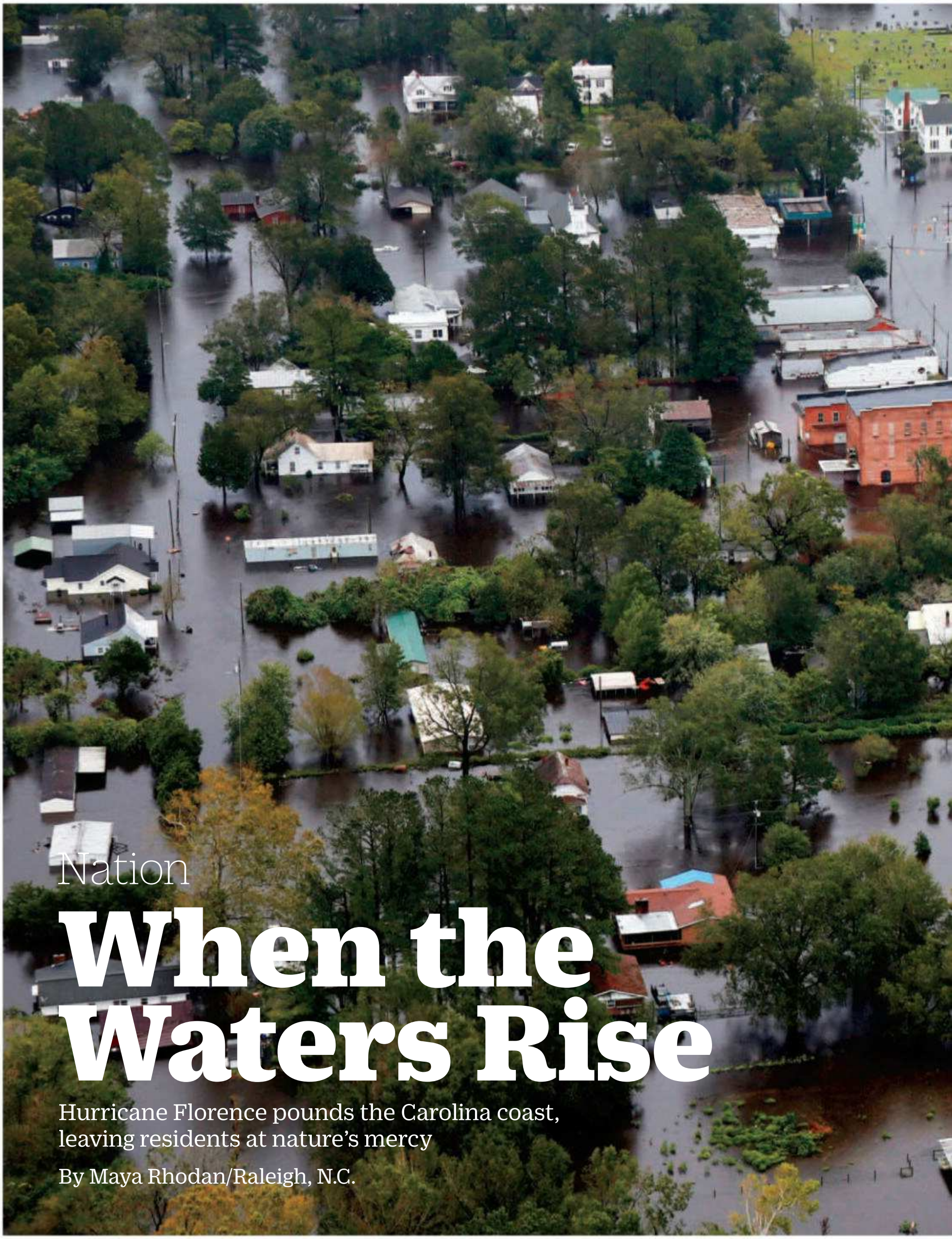
And last week, Soon-Yi Previn, Woody Allen's wife and the adopted daughter of Allen's former partner Mia Farrow, denied in an interview the claims that Farrow has made over the years that Allen sexually abused both Previn and Farrow's daughter Dylan. The case predates #MeToo by decades, but with its conflicting accounts, show-business setting and elements of activism (Farrow was an early, prominent crusader against abuse), Previn's comments added new complexity to a decades-old debate.

Ultimately and unfairly, the burden falls upon survivors—any survivor, really—to explain away these complications: after news of the Argento allegations broke, many turned to early Weinstein accuser and fellow crusader Rose McGowan for an explanation, even though McGowan wasn't in the room when the alleged assault took place and had no means of clarifying the messy narrative. Meanwhile, thorny questions about Woody Allen's legacy have been thrust on the women and children in his life rather than on Allen himself.

Even as hundreds of wrongdoers are fired from their jobs, investigated by police and, in the rarest of cases, actually sentenced for committing the crime of assault or rape, the women who lead #MeToo will never be able to declare victory. "I still have to think about the worst moment in my life when I go to sleep every night," says Lewis, the Plaza Hotel worker.

There will be no one moment that solves all the problems of sexism and the abuses that accompany it in any industry. For activists, including survivors, the past year has sometimes felt just, and often discouraging. But if revolutions come all at once, societies change slowly. That's a cause both of frustration and ultimately—actuarially, even—of real hope.

"Even if I'm not seeing change among those in power, I see changes in my generation, especially among men in my generation," says Meyer. "I have to hope that when those men and women rise to positions of power, that's when things will finally, really, be different."



Nation

When the Waters Rise

Hurricane Florence pounds the Carolina coast, leaving residents at nature's mercy

By Maya Rhodan/Raleigh, N.C.

PHOTOGRAPH BY STEVE HELBER

Floodwaters from Hurricane Florence inundate Trenton, N.C., where over 19 in. of rain fell

By the time it started raining across North Carolina early on Sept. 14, the only thing left to do was wait.

As Hurricane Florence churned toward the mid-Atlantic coast, federal and state officials told residents that the storm would be exceptionally dangerous. The preparations matched their dire predictions. Authorities ordered evacuations in 17 North Carolina counties, shuttered schools and state parks, and moved more than 3,000 inmates in local prisons out of the hurricane's path. Locals emptied grocery-store shelves, drained gas supplies and hunkered down in more than 100 emergency shelters set up to house evacuees. State officials mobilized first responders, and the military sprang into action, with more than 6,500 troops mustering to provide support in the Carolinas, Virginia and Maryland.

When Florence finally arrived, it was "powerful, slow and relentless," North Carolina Governor Roy Cooper said, like an "uninvited brute who doesn't want to leave." As with many devastating hurricanes, the true danger was not the wind it brought but the water, and on that score the storm lived up to the hype. Over 2 ft. of rain fell in parts of North Carolina, breaking state records. Flooding in Wilmington transformed the coastal city into an island, preventing people and supplies from getting in or out. A 10-ft. storm surge flooded the city of New Bern, where the Neuse and Trent rivers meet. Emergency teams rescued some 2,600 people across the state. Almost 1 million people in North and South Carolina lost power. As of Sept. 17, the storm had claimed 32 lives, a number that authorities expected would rise.

Florence was the second storm to devastate North Carolina in as many years. In 2016, Hurricane Matthew dumped 14 in. of rain on central and eastern North Carolina, inundating towns and washing out roads. In the days after, river levels rose to historic levels, causing catastrophic flooding. Twenty-six people died. Some of the towns Florence slammed were still in the process of recovering from Matthew.

With the memories of that storm still fresh, the region took few chances. Quentia Felton, 39, of Morehead City, N.C., had not heeded mandatory evacuation orders during previous storms. She and her family didn't want to take that risk during Florence. "This one ain't playing," she told TIME as she settled into the emergency shelter at Southeast Raleigh Magnet High School, where her family planned to stay until it was safe to go home.

FLORENCE MADE LANDFALL at 7:15 a.m. on Sept. 14 near Wrightsville Beach, N.C. It battered coastal communities before turning south, raking Myrtle Beach, S.C. Then it slowly drifted inland, cutting a swath so wide that tropical-storm-force winds could be felt 195 miles from its eye. Swollen rivers and creeks turned roads into waterways. In Fayetteville, the Cape Fear River crested at 60 ft. above its bed, some 26 ft. higher than its normally designated flood stage. Even as the storm dwindled, the threat of looming floods prompted evacuations and rescues, and left residents who had stayed put fearing the worst.

In Goldsboro, N.C., a flood zone begins right in Coy Coley's backyard. His white garage, just a few steps from the small back porch where his wife has planted flowers and vines in large pots, is out of the flood path. The home they've spent 45 years in is not. Coley says he applied for a program that would allow him to sell his home to the federal government and avoid the financial burden of dealing with the aftermath of flooding. He doesn't want to be stuck with a home that would be hard to sell. Plus, every storm brings painful memories of past floods. During Matthew, the water in front of Coley's house rose to the bottom of his mailbox. "Once it starts raining, you get that fear," he says. "You don't want to step out of the bed and step in no water. It just bothers you. Even during heavy rainfall, I get that fear."

Fayetteville resident Karen Malloy recalls how high the Cape Fear River got back in 2016. "Another foot and it would have been on our road," she says. By Sept. 19, the river was expected to crest 2 ft. higher than it did back then. Malloy's home is one of 5,600 structures within one mile of the river whose residents had been ordered to evacuate. Those who didn't leave, Fayetteville's mayor warned, should notify their next of kin.

Coley stands in front of his home in Goldsboro, N.C., as rainfall from Hurricane Florence floods his neighborhood

Forty miles south, in Lumberton, N.C., Dawn Davis' backyard had been overtaken by the Lumber River as afternoon turned to evening on Sept. 16. Rising waters had already breached a makeshift levee, made of at least 5,000 sandbags, that had been erected to prevent the catastrophic flooding the city saw during Matthew. Davis' next-door neighbor, Bennie Todd, and his family had water coming through the top of their house after hurricane winds blew the shingles off their roof. A blue tarp protected them from the elements. "As long as it doesn't come up from the bottom, we'll be all right," Todd said, swiping the air with an orange fly swatter as he swung from a white wooden bench on his screened-in porch.

Around the corner, truck driver Rochelle Chatman and his cousin used their phones to take photos of the swollen river. Chatman's home had already flooded. Storms billed as once-in-a-lifetime events, he fretted, were becoming routine. "They say [Hurricane Matthew] was a 500-year flood," he says. "Now it's become a two-year flood."

It will be a while before the rivers recede, the roads clear and stricken residents return to their normal lives. But as the storm rolled out and the sun began to beam down on the Tar Heel State, citizens assessed the damage. They picked up debris from their lawns and removed boards from their windows. They unrolled rugs and took furniture off raised blocks. The long road to recovery was only beginning. ◻

PREVIOUS PAGES: AP/SHUTTERSTOCK; THESE PAGES: BRYAN ANSELM—REDUX FOR TIME

SCIENCE

The problem with storm categories

By Alejandro de la Garza

North Carolina residents might be excused for breathing a premature sigh of relief when Hurricane Florence, once a Category 4 storm, was downgraded to Category 1 before making landfall. But those numbers don't tell the whole story—and what they leave out can have life-and-death consequences.

"Florence is an excellent example of a storm that is a lower category than it was and yet is still extremely dangerous," Bill Lapenta, director of the National Centers for Environmental Prediction at the National Weather Service, tells TIME.

Florence especially highlighted one key shortfall of the system known as the Saffir-Simpson Hurricane Wind Scale: while it measures a hurricane's wind speed, it doesn't take into account the speed at which the storm itself is moving. Those are often vastly different figures. While hurricanes can produce winds that whirl as fast as a race car, the systems themselves can plod along at the pace of a person taking a stroll. Slower storms can dump biblical amounts of rain in a more limited area over longer periods of time. That increases the risk for those in its path. Other threats, like storm surge, aren't measured by a hurricane's category either.

Nevertheless, hurricane categories have become a convenient shorthand for those looking to understand a storm. When one gets downgraded right before making landfall, some people may wrongly interpret that as a sign of a lessened threat, leading them to make ill-informed decisions about whether to evacuate.

In recent years, the National Weather Service has developed more-precise ways to communicate a hurricane's threat. But it also falls to meteorologists and politicians to pound home the idea that a storm can be dangerous at any point on the scale. In the days before Florence hit, North Carolina Governor Roy Cooper showed one way to do so: "My message is clear," he said at a press briefing. "Disaster is at the doorstep and is coming in."

—With reporting by Jeffrey Kluger

Lessons From Maria

One year after a hurricane devastated Puerto Rico, the island is just beginning to reckon with the toll By Karl Vick/Utuado, P.R.

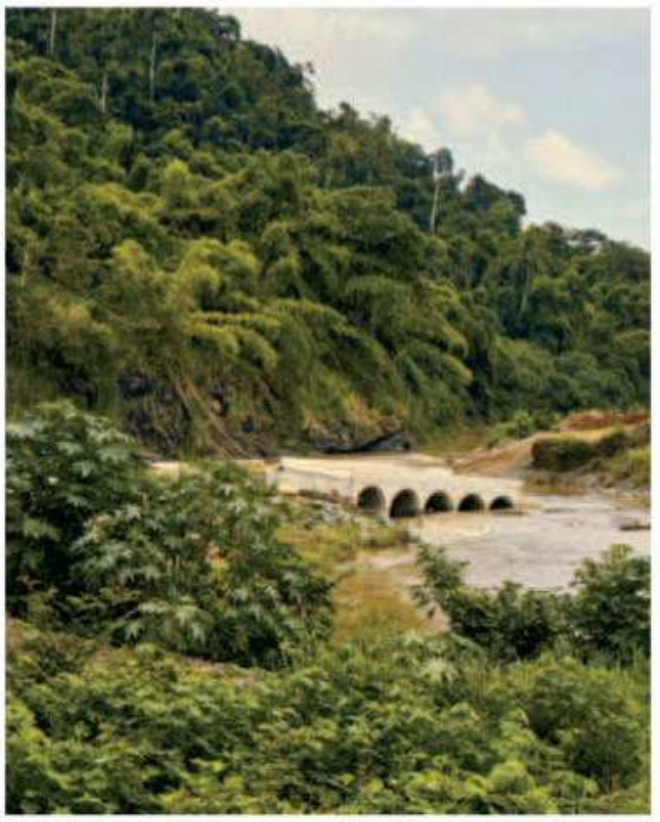
Photographs by Christopher Gregory for TIME

THE NARROW ASPHALT ROAD KNOWN AS PUERTO RICO Route 123 shadows the Río Grande de Arecibo along its eastern bank, a steep hillside with the ropy emerald lushness of a tropical rain forest and, at dawn on Sept. 20, 2017, a terrifying roar. "It sounded like a monster," Yolanda Guzmán recalls of Hurricane Maria. "I didn't think I was going to survive."

She did, but the 2,975 people whose deaths were tied to the mega-storm would make it—once they were finally tallied—the most lethal U.S. natural disaster in at least a century. As with Florence, which swamped the Carolinas for days, and Typhoon Mangkhut, which scoured the Philippines and Hong Kong, the physical devastation of Puerto Rico was obvious right away. But it would be 11 months before its government produced a credible count of the dead. And when it did, a new storm came with it.

The final number, calculated by experts at George Washington University, was 1,000 beyond the upper estimates for Hurricane Katrina and almost exactly the toll from the attacks on Sept. 11, 2001. It was also 47 times higher than the death count that island officials had offered in the first chaotic weeks after the storm, and haplessly stood by for months. That unlikely tally, just 64, was the number preferred by President Donald Trump, who seemed to regard a low body count as evidence of competence. "3000 people did not die," the President tweeted on Sept. 13. As airily as he dismissed the global climate change that is making superstorms more frequent and intense,

ONE YEAR ON *Clockwise from top left in Utuado: Yolanda Guzmán; a downed bridge; Magdalena Flores, mother of Maribel; a downed power line; Adrián Román, 12, on a road his family painted; a water cistern under repair; Zilma Maldonado in her son's room; Magdalena's kitchen; center: mortuary workers Miguel Rodríguez and Javier García next to a river they crossed to recover a body*



the President dismissed the federal Centers for Disease Control and Prevention guidelines for tallying the deaths the storms leave in their wake.

But in Puerto Rico, there was no debate. Even amid the recriminations over the tardy, checkered federal response to Maria, survivors of the storm have always known it killed far more people than had been counted. The evidence arrived over weeks and months at morgues and funeral homes across the U.S. territory of 3.3 million, including the bend in Route 123 where Yolanda rode out the storm with neighbors whose numbers steadily diminished over the next year.

The tidy, largely middle-class homes, about three miles north of the small city of Utuado in Puerto Rico's central mountains, appeared to weather Maria well. Appearances deceive. One of Yolanda's neighbors died in her home, where her body remained for a week as her son struggled for sanity. Two other neighbors perished in the next six weeks, succumbing to medical conditions that could not be treated in the months they were without electricity or running water.

That made three deaths in the space of a tenth of a mile. And it nearly became four on the morning—five months after the storm—that Yolanda did not wake up. "The thing is," says Juan Santiago, son of the only victim counted in the original tally, "a lot of people died after the hurricane, see?"

EVERYTHING FLOWED from that first 24 hours. "It was impressive," deadpans Carlos Soto, who rode out Maria with his wife and daughter, two doors down from Yolanda, in what began the storm as a two-story home.

How impressive? Of 13,000 "cyclone events" since 1950, the Climate Impact Lab says, only five were more intense than Maria—and all of those were in the Pacific and struck smaller land masses. It took eight hours for Maria to traverse Puerto Rico, moving southeast to northwest with average wind speeds of 123 m.p.h. Utuado, in the center of the island, was also in the center of the storm. When the eye passed over, Carlos dashed outside and up the stairs to retrieve the dogs from his apartment, which no longer had a roof.

The next morning, people ventured outside to a new world. The island had changed color, from leaf green to the gray brown of tree trunks laced black by thrown soil. "It was like they threw a bomb, because everything looked burnt," says Zenaida Sánchez, 67. Residents waded through pools of leaves. Carlos ran into Juan, who lived across the road with his mother, who had Alzheimer's. "The hurricane was Wednesday, and Thursday in the morning around 6:30, I said, 'Mommy, we survived the hurricane. Nothing happened to us, right?'" Juan says. "A half hour later I said, 'Come and eat your breakfast.' She said, *'Ai! Ai! Ai!'* She had a real bad pain in her neck, like by her jaw. She started screaming, 'I'm going to die! You're going to be all alone!'"

Her heart failed minutes later. Juan wrapped his mother's body in a shower curtain, then ventured into the tangle of downed trees and power lines. When he encountered Carlos, he said he wanted to bury her in the yard. He was dissuaded.

A few hours later, visitors began to arrive from the outside. José Luis Sánchez had hiked for three hours over mudslides and downed trees to check on his own 79-year-old mother, who burst into tears at the sight of him, head to toe in mud. During the 35 minutes it took to cover the 300 yards from there to his sister Maribel's house, he ran into Juan, a friend from childhood.

"I'm going back with you," Juan told him. "I'm going to go crazy. I'll kill myself if I stay here." They reached town after dark, and when Juan told the police about his mother's death, they questioned him for three hours. "They thought I killed my mother," he says.

It took a week for earthmoving equipment to clear enough space on Route 123 for a vehicle carrying mortuary workers. They approached the house in white

Slow recovery

A year after Maria—one of the most devastating hurricanes to hit the U.S.—Puerto Rico is still struggling to rebuild as government officials begin to recognize the thousands of lives lost in the aftermath of the storm.

SOURCES: NOAA; FEMA; DOE; FCC; GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY (MAP); NEWS REPORTS

TRACKING THE PROGRESS

SEPT. 20, 2017
Hurricane Maria makes landfall, causing extensive damage across the island. The initial death toll is 10.

OCTOBER
Only 22% of Puerto Ricans have power, and one-third have no access to clean water.

DECEMBER
Some schools reopen to low enrollment. The official death count is revised to 64.

protective suits, then transported the corpse of Carmen Meléndez Aponte to the Institute of Forensic Sciences in San Juan, which sent it right back. She was buried in Utuado on Sept. 29, eight days after she died, the funeral home moving at the express pace that had become routine.

"We were really, really busy," says Luisa Avilés, an employee at Utuado Memorial, where the workload—three funerals a day, most attended by one or two people—failed to jibe with the government's account of the storm. The facility handled 24 bodies in the three weeks after Maria. That alone would account for a third of the entire island's "official" death toll—and there are 77 other municipalities.

The disconnect was one of many that muddied public perception of the catastrophe. When the mainland's attention finally shifted from weeks in thrall of Harvey and Irma, the hurricanes that had just hit Texas and Florida, it was hard to know what to think. Puerto Rico was clearly devastated. Yet at daily news briefings, Governor Ricardo Rosselló, flanked by FEMA officials, projected control. The capital's convention center was an air-conditioned beehive of wi-fi, polo-shirted bureaucrats and digital "logistics snapshots." On Oct. 2 a screen read: FEDERAL WORKERS ON THE GROUND: 13,000. HOSPITALS OPEN: 92%.

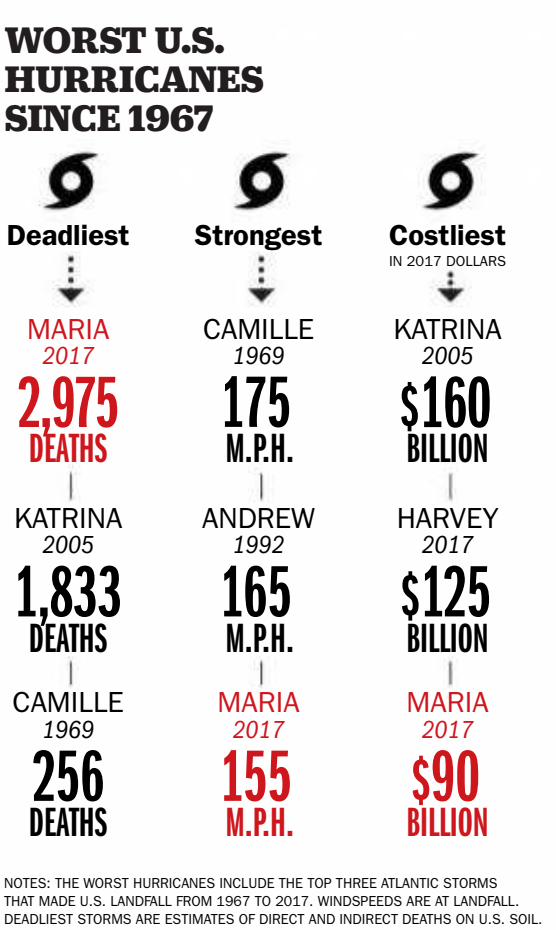
The next day, Iván Luciano died in one of them. A diabetic, he was taken from his house just below Route 123 to the Utuado hospital after Hurricane Irma, which skirted the island but still knocked out power in parts. When his condition worsened and he needed dialysis, Iván was transferred 20 miles to Arecibo, a city of 90,000, where he was in the ICU. But after Maria, that facility too lost power, and Iván died there Oct. 3, relatives say. In news briefings at the time, commonwealth and FEMA officials singled out dialysis as a service that hospitals were continuing to provide.

"Lies," says Iván's sister, Zoraida Luciano Gonzáles, 68. Like 400,000 others on the island, she has diabetes. She requires insulin that must be kept refrigerated, and after losing power in the storm she cooled hers in water from a mountain spring. At the houses on Route 123, neighbors chipped in $2 each to pay a local boy to shuttle ice from town every day. It would be eight months, not until May 2018, before they had power again. Maria imposed the longest blackout in U.S. history, with more than 3.4 billion customer hours lost. That, in turn, produced more deaths.

Two doors up from Yolanda, José Sánchez's sister, Maribel Sánchez Flores, struggled to breathe. Maribel, 58, was born with spina bifida and suffered from severe asthma, but she'd lived the life she wanted. She taught special education in the vocational high school, built a house of her own and—as a single mother by choice—raised the daughter she had risked her life to have; doctors had warned her the pregnancy could be fatal.

But with her bad lungs, she always left a room where someone was smoking, and now they grew worse after the storm. The air on the island was laden with debris and dust. When cars passed, the particles flew through the windows of her house, which lay slightly below grade. She needed medication from a nebulizer four times a day, and plugged it in at generators at her mother's house or at Yolanda's. Her sister, a nurse, pressed Maribel to move in with her in Arecibo. At the end of October, the sister called José to say Maribel was in the hospital. "I had the feeling I would never see her again," he said. She died on Nov. 1.

THIS WAS LIFE after the storm—uncomfortable, attenuated, vulnerable. But everyone was in it together. Sometimes intimately. Jorge Rosario, 67, Maribel's neighbor to the north, felt exposed in his own yard. "All the leaves were gone," he laughs. "You couldn't even pee." A PVC pipe extending from a hillside spring at the bend in the road became the village tap, and shower. When she needed to bathe, Zilma Maldonado, who lived across



JANUARY 2018
About 90% of cell-phone towers are back up, but at least a third of the island is still without Internet.

MARCH
Power is restored to most of the island. But remote areas endure their sixth month without electricity.

JUNE
As a new hurricane season approaches, thousands of homes are still covered by tarps and plastic roofs.

AUGUST
Puerto Rico authorities raise the official death-toll estimate to 2,975.

the street, posted her sons as lookouts.

But the truth was Maria made a community out of what had been a neighborhood. Before the storm, some people were already friendly. (Maribel would bring around the coconut cookies she made.) Others might just wave from their driveways on the way to work. Now, everyone looked after one another. After two weeks passed without any aid from outside, Carlos' mother-in-law, Judith Valentín, hiked into town to alert the National Guard, which had been concentrating aid on a region cut off by a bridge. Afterward, relief arrived in dribs and drabs—first water, wipes and tins of corned beef, then FEMA and private aid agencies. Zenaida, whose house had been crushed by a tree, lists on her fingers what came her way: "Gas stoves, tarps, bedsheets. They helped us a lot. And World Vision gave us a $500 check!" Her stepmother listens beside her in silence, having paid with her own money to repair a part of her roof. Residents on Route 123 graded the official response to Maria at 3 on a scale of 10, some going as high as 4.

Yet on an island where dependency is an abiding issue—nearly half of Puerto Rican households receive food stamps—the storm also brought a sense of self-sufficiency. "Everyone was clearing bamboo [from the road]," Zenaida says. "Everyone had a machete." Zilma's son, Javier, had gone to bed with a shrug on Sept. 19 after his video game lost power. But after the National Guard arrived with water and food, he was moved to join the service. "I have a different perspective now in life," he says, from Sheppard Air Force Base in Texas. "It was like, I got to stop messing around, I got to do something. A lot of people I know were like that."

The central essential lesson of Maria, however, was that modern life is fragile. Sustaining it requires a webbing—of power lines and cold chains, cell towers and data packets—that is not easily stood up once knocked down. One morning in late February, Yolanda's husband Juan Rivera woke as usual but could not rouse his wife. After five months of relying on ice to cool her insulin, she had slipped into a diabetic coma. Juan ran around the yard with his cell phone aloft, searching frantically for a signal so he could summon an ambulance. He suspects the one he found was bounced off a balloon that Alphabet, the parent company of Google, had launched around the island to stand in for hobbled cell towers.

Without it, or a road passable by an ambulance, Yolanda might well have joined Carmen, Iván and Maribel among the nearly 3,000 dead. "Places that are filled with vulnerable people, if you lose power, you're going to risk loss of life," says Dr. Lynn Goldman, dean of the Milken Institute School of Public Health at GWU, which Puerto Rico hired in February to finally clear up the question of fatalities.

For months, the governor had avoided

A portrait of the late Maribel Sánchez Flores when her daughter was a child. Opposite, Utuado cemetery worker Tulio Collazo Vega at the grave of three sisters killed by a landslide during the storm

the issue, working to cultivate Trump and maintain the notion that the response was somehow a federal success. But as time passed, the death count was viewed as a dangerous distortion in the fact-driven world of disaster preparedness.

The response to each new storm is, after all, informed by insights gleaned from the last. During Hurricane Floyd in 1999, Georgia and South Carolina pioneered turning freeways into one-way evacuation routes, and North Carolina followed suit as Florence approached. There was no evacuating Puerto Rico, but lifesaving lessons lurk in every catastrophe. In July, FEMA published its own after-action report, listing its shortcomings in Maria, including staff shortages and warehouses nearly empty when the storm arrived.

"You need to know if a lot of people died," says Dr. Satchit Balsari, one of the first researchers who set out to correct the record, in a study by Harvard. "It sheds light on the enormity of the disaster, but importantly it helps us prepare for the next disaster." The Harvard study, which used random interviews with households to estimate the possible range of the storm's fatalities, found the death rate in Puerto Rico was still above normal on Dec. 31.

GWU's study, with the cooperation of the government, used death certificates, which turned out to be as reliable in Puerto Rico as elsewhere in the U.S. They provided a historical baseline for the number of deaths that usually occur on the island from late September to late February. By tallying every death during the six months after Maria, then subtracting the baseline, researchers had the number resulting from the storm, including the "indirect deaths" the CDC says should be counted in the aftermath.

The math wasn't simple. The study adjusted for variables, including what Goldman called the "amazing" number of people who fled Puerto Rico after the storm for the U.S. mainland. Among the 300,000 who fled were Juan Santiago, who joined relatives in Florida, and Zilma's two sons. All told, four of the dozen houses at the bend stand vacant a year after the storm.

And more may empty. Electricity is still iffy, and Puerto Ricans remain on edge. With the approach of each tropical depression, people rush to book flights out, empty supermarket shelves of bottled water and form lines at gas stations. Just an hour of rain on Sept. 12 this year caused flooding in San Juan's streets. The island may look like it did before Maria: the leaves came back in the spring, houses have been rebuilt. But underneath, systems are still choked by what the storm left behind.

"I lost my daughter," says Maribel's mother, Magdalena Flores. She stands on her front porch in a housedress, eyes brimming. "She was everything to me." —*With reporting by* GEORGE RIVERA/ARECIBO *and* UTUADO; *and* ARPITA ANEJA/NEW YORK ◻

World

Putin's Wealthiest Operatives

To understand how Russia penetrated the 2016 campaign, look to the oligarchs **By Simon Shuster**

THE MESSAGE FROM MOSCOW REACHED Paul Manafort at a crucial moment in the U.S. presidential race, just as he was about to secure the official Republican nomination for his client, Donald Trump. Manafort's overture had been received, the July 2016 message informed him. And Oleg Deripaska, a Russian billionaire with close ties to Russian President Vladimir Putin, would be back in touch soon.

In the months before the 2016 elections, Manafort, then Trump's campaign chairman, had tried repeatedly to reach out to Deripaska through intermediaries, according to emails revealed last year by the Washington *Post* and the *Atlantic*. The two men's relationship went back a decade; Manafort had worked as a political consultant for Deripaska's business interests in Eastern Europe in the mid-2000s.

The messages used coded language—apparent references to money, for instance, were sometimes rendered as "black caviar." But the aim of the exchange seems clear. Manafort wanted to offer "private briefings" about the Trump campaign to one of Russia's wealthiest men.

That offer has since come under the scrutiny of Robert Mueller, the special counsel investigating Russia's interference in the U.S. presidential race. His investigators want to know whether the Trump campaign had a secret back channel to the Kremlin, and Manafort has agreed to help them answer that question. As part of his guilty plea on Sept. 14 to charges stemming from the Mueller investigation, Manafort agreed to cooperate "fully, truthfully, completely, and forthrightly" with the special counsel.

Already Mueller's probe has shown the range of assets Putin brought to bear on the 2016 campaign. Russian hackers stole and leaked the private emails of Trump's opponents and worked to polarize and enrage voters by manipulating social media, according to evidence made public by Mueller. Russian diplomats wooed Trump's advisers, who were eager for information that could hurt Hillary Clinton's chances.

But it is oligarchs like Deripaska, wielding extraordinary wealth and global connections, who may have played the most important role in the Russian influence campaign. Putin himself has suggested as much. Onstage with Trump at a press conference in Helsinki on July 16, the Russian leader said he "can imagine" private Russian businessmen supported Trump's bid for the presi-

Putin relies on Russia's richest men to project power. From left: ViktorVekselberg, Oleg Deripaska, Evgeny Prigozhin and Aras Agalarov. Paul Manafort, center, worked for Deripaska.

PHOTO-ILLUSTRATION BY JOHN RITTER FOR TIME

dency. "And so what?" Putin demanded. "They don't represent the Russian state."

In fact, their ties to the state are a lot closer than Putin let on. From the very beginning of his 19 years in power, the Russian President has turned his country's wealthiest men into a loose but loyal band of operatives. In exchange for lucrative deals with the government, or simply protection from the authorities, these billionaires have gathered contacts at the highest levels of U.S. politics, high enough to influence policy in the service of the Russian state. "These are cats that like to bring dead mice to the Kremlin," says Mark Galeotti, a leading expert in Putin's influence operations at the Prague-based Institute of International Relations.

And in the Trumps, the oligarchs found plump targets. One Russian billionaire hosted Ivanka Trump and her husband, the President's senior adviser, Jared Kushner, at a gala in Moscow in 2014. Another has links to a $500,000 payment to Trump's personal lawyer Michael Cohen in 2017. A third ran a propaganda operation that pumped pro-Trump content into the news feeds of millions of American voters. In the heat of the presidential race, a fourth tycoon arranged the meeting where a Russian lawyer offered dirt on Clinton to Trump's closest aides. And then of course there was Deripaska, whose years of fishing for friends in Washington eventually got the chairman of a presidential campaign on the line.

The U.S. has begun to hit back. In February, the Justice Department indicted one oligarch, Evgeny Prigozhin, for his role in the 2016 social-media-influence operation. In April, the Treasury Department sanctioned two others, Deripaska and investor Viktor Vekselberg, freezing their assets and limiting their travel, in retaliation for their work for Putin.

The oligarchs say they are doing nothing wrong in advancing Russia's interests at home and abroad. Reviews of legal records and interviews with oligarchs and their associates in Russia and the West show just how far they have gone. They also show how deeply they penetrated the 2016 U.S. presidential contest, and the campaign of Donald Trump.

ON A WARM DAY in 2000, during the first months of his tenure as President, Putin arranged to meet his country's richest men at a barbecue on the edge of Moscow. The gathering had not been his idea. One of the bankers closest to the Kremlin had suggested it, hoping it would allay their concerns about Russia's new leader. "He was a black box," recalls Sergei Pugachev, the financier behind the meeting, who was once known as the Kremlin's Banker. "No one knew what was inside."

Many of the oligarchs assumed in those days that Putin would be a pushover. With no power base in Moscow, the young KGB veteran from St. Petersburg seemed incapable of challenging their hold over the government, the media and much of the economy. Entire industries had been auctioned off to these men during Russia's transition to capitalism in the 1990s, often in exchange for loans to save the state from bankruptcy. Some of them had urged President Boris Yeltsin to choose Putin as his successor. They assumed the new President would be at least as pliable as the old one.

Deripaska's years of fishing for friends in Washington eventually got the chairman of a presidential campaign on the line

Putin was quick to correct them. In choosing a venue for the meeting, he decided against the Kremlin, the normal spot for such a conclave. Instead he chose to send a more pointed message. "The meeting was at Stalin's dacha," Pugachev recalls. "That was very symbolic."

Hidden among thick forests on the western outskirts of the city, the estate in Kuntsevo was the home of Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin for two decades before his death in 1953. It was also the place where Stalin drew up lists of enemies among Russia's political and economic elites, who were sent to their deaths in Siberia and elsewhere by the untold thousands in what became known as the Great Purge. The tyrant's old office, right down to his desk and the couch where he used to take naps, was still preserved at Kuntsevo when the oligarchs pulled up to the gates for their meeting with Putin. In the presence of these memento mori, no one challenged the young President with any difficult questions, says Pugachev. "It's enough that he let us leave," he recalls one of the guests saying afterward.

Not all of them were so easily intimidated. Mikhail Khodorkovsky, an oil mogul with political ambitions of his own, understood the new rules that Putin was trying to enforce. "He wanted us to understand that we, as big businessmen, may have some power," he tells TIME. "But it is nothing compared to his power as the head of state." Khodorkovsky did not take that message to heart. After publicly clashing with Putin and his loyalists, he was arrested on charges of tax evasion in 2003 and subjected to a trial criticized by human-rights activists as a settling of scores. He wound up serving 10 years in prison.

The lesson to the oligarchs was clear. Their fortunes could stand or fall on Putin's whim, and most accepted the need to do favors for the Kremlin as part of the cost of doing business. "If the state says we need to give it up, we'll give it up," Deripaska said of his own business empire during an interview with the *Financial Times* in 2007. In a remark that would come to define the position of the oligarchs in Putin's Russia, he added, "I don't separate myself from the state. I have no other interests."

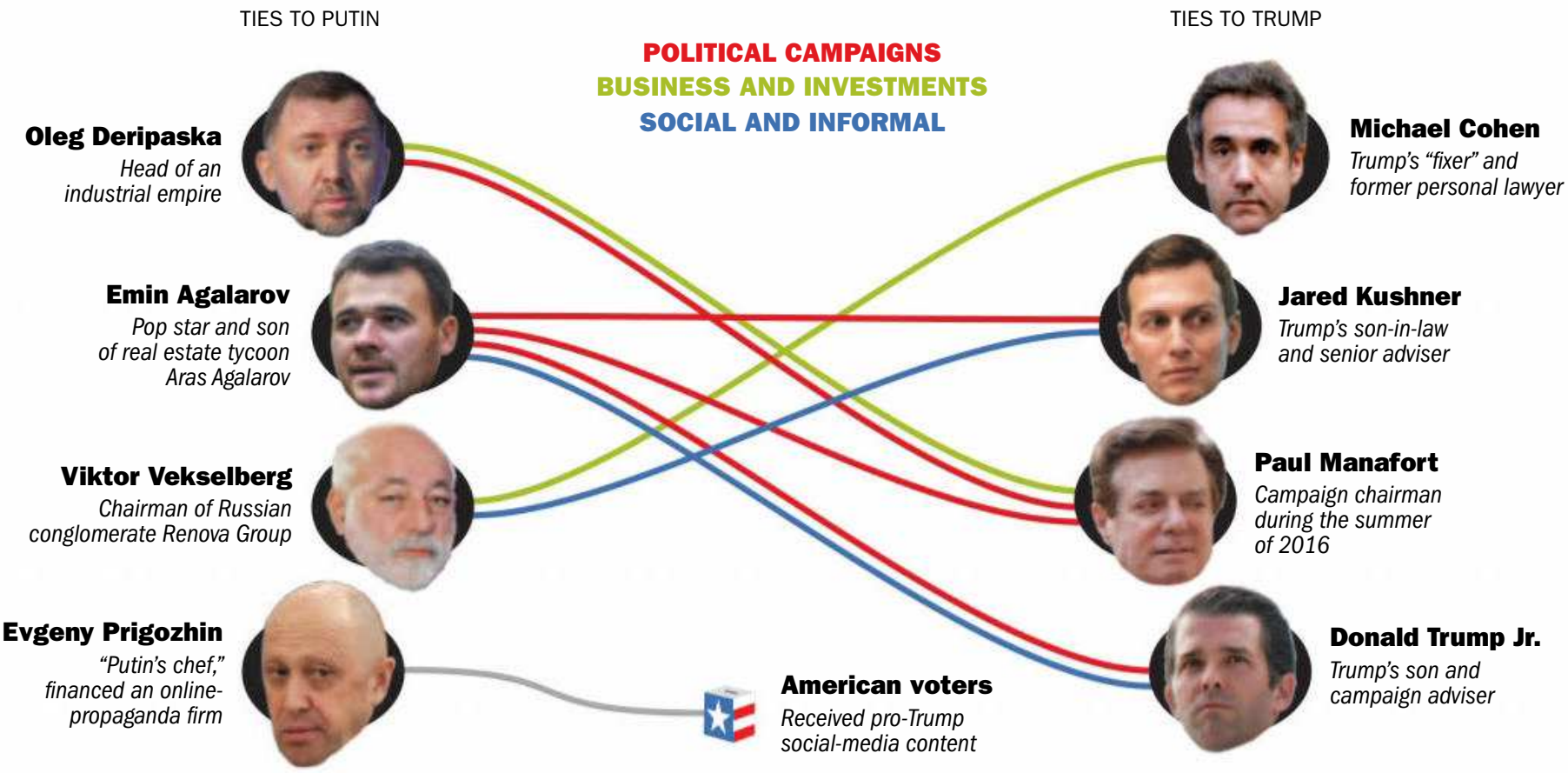
The oligarchs stuck to their specialties. Some focused on banking and finance, others on mining and energy. And they paid their dues to the state in different ways.

Aras Agalarov, a flashy real estate tycoon with a taste for mafia movies—his family once filmed a remake of *The Godfather* for his birthday with him in the starring role—was known for accepting construction projects that might endear him to Putin. When the President decided that he wanted to host a summit in 2012 on a deserted island at Russia's eastern edge, Agalarov spent $100 million of his own money building a vast white-elephant campus for the event, with new roads and infrastructure. Putin was pleased. "Your contribution to our country's develop-

PREVIOUS PAGES: KREMLIN, MANAFORT: SHUTTERSTOCK; PUTIN, VEKSELBERG, DERIPASKA: GETTY IMAGES; PRIGOZHIN, AGALAROV: REUTERS

Web of influence

Wealthy and well-connected Russian oligarchs, loyal to Vladimir Putin, have established a variety of connections to key members of Trump's inner circle. Here are a few:



AGALAROV, COHEN, DERIPASKA, KUSHNER, TRUMP, VEKSELBERG: GETTY IMAGES; PRIGOZHIN: REUTERS; MANAFORT: SHUTTERSTOCK

ment cannot be measured in money," the President said after pinning the Order of Honor to the mogul's chest in 2013.

Another of Putin's favorite businessmen has taken a more active role in Russia's foreign adventures. Convicted of fraud and other crimes in the Soviet Union, Prigozhin found lawful success in the late 1990s with a St. Petersburg restaurant called New Island, where Putin would often dine with friends and foreign dignitaries. He won catering contracts with the Kremlin and the Russian army, earning him the nickname "Putin's chef"—which has stuck despite Prigozhin's moves into other industries.

In 2015, he emerged as a key player in Russia's military campaigns in Ukraine and Syria. Documents and legal records published in the Russian press have linked his companies to the Wagner Group, a private military outfit that has sent fighters into both conflicts, often taking on missions that seemed too dangerous, or sensitive, for regular Russian troops. Prigozhin also bankrolled the Internet Research Agency, a troll farm that blasted out Kremlin propaganda through hundreds of fake social-media accounts, according to the U.S. charges unveiled against him earlier this year. Asked about these ventures, his spokesperson replied that Prigozhin does not speak to reporters "on principle."

The more subtle and sensitive work of cultivating influence among power brokers in the U.S. and Western Europe generally goes to Russia's wealthiest tycoons. Prominent among them is Viktor Vekselberg, who was one of the guests at Stalin's dacha back in 2000. With a short silver beard and ice blue eyes, he earned much of his fortune in oil and metals. Later on, he decided to direct it, with the Kremlin's blessing, to the tech sector.

Vekselberg quickly made friends in Silicon Valley, in part through investments managed by his cousin's firm out of New York City. But Vekselberg's partnerships with U.S. companies, like a billion-dollar deal he helped negotiate with Cisco in 2010, soon attracted the attention of the FBI, which issued a highly unusual warning to the industry in 2014. Vekselberg's foundation, the bureau wrote, "may be a means for the Russian government to access our nation's sensitive or classified research, development facilities and dual-use technologies."

The concerns of U.S. authorities were even more acute when it came to Deripaska. He had emerged as the winner of a brutal competition for control of Russia's aluminum industry—a billionaire since his 30s. The U.S. revoked his visa in 2006, effectively banning him from the country, reportedly because of alleged ties to Russian organized crime. That only seemed to improve his standing with the Kremlin. He had already married into the family of Putin's predecessor, Yeltsin, and later became "a more or less permanent fixture on Putin's trips abroad," according to a 2006 U.S. embassy cable.

Even without a U.S. visa, Deripaska still managed to develop ties with some of the most powerful lobbyists in Washington, including Manafort and his then partner, Rick Davis. The consultants introduced Deripaska in early 2006 to several Republican Senators, including

John McCain. When the late Senator celebrated his 70th birthday in the tiny Balkan nation of Montenegro that summer, Deripaska was among the revellers.

The partnership between Manafort and Deripaska was especially rich with opportunities for the Kremlin. The American lobbyist even pitched Deripaska a plan in 2005 to shape political events across the U.S. and much of Europe, according to the Associated Press, which published parts of the plan last year. The aim, the AP reported, was to "greatly benefit the Putin Government" with influence operations in a several Western capitals. One tactic Manafort reportedly touted would be to "train a cadre of leaders who can be relied upon in future governments."

Deripaska has denied ever agreeing to such a plan and Manafort denies working for Russia. "I have always publicly acknowledged that I worked for Mr. Deripaska and his company, Rusal, to advance its interests," Manafort said in March 2017. "I did not work for the Russian government."

The year after Manafort sent his plan to Deripaska, they worked together on a project that redrew the map of Europe. In the spring of 2006, Montenegro held a referendum on independence from neighboring Serbia. Manafort has admitted helping stage the vote with financial backing from Deripaska. "It probably couldn't have happened without their help," says a Montenegrin official involved in the referendum. "They made a very good team."

THE NETWORK OF RELATIONSHIPS cultivated by the oligarchs over the past two decades covered almost every sphere of influence at home and abroad, and it was partly by chance that Trump got caught in it. Trump's desire to do business in Russia began well before Putin and the oligarchs rose to power. During his first visit to Moscow, arranged in 1987 by the USSR's ambassador to Washington, Trump visited sites for a new hotel, including one near Red Square. "I was impressed with the ambition of Soviet officials to make a deal," Trump recalls in *The Art of the Deal*.

Vladimir Rubanov, who was a senior KGB officer at the time, says Trump may have been targeted for surveillance during that visit. "I'd say there is a 50-50 chance," he tells TIME. The brash American certainly had the qualities that Soviet spies would have looked for. "He's connected. He's famous. He's wealthy," says Rubanov. "So for us this person would not be treated like just another visitor."

As the communist system began to break up in the late 1980s, the talks about a Trump Tower in Moscow fizzled. They were only revived in earnest a quarter-century later, but this time it was not the government handling the negotiations. It was Agalarov, Putin's favorite builder.

In the fall of 2013, Agalarov collaborated with Trump to bring the Miss Universe pageant to Moscow. They spent a couple of days together while hosting the event, attending parties and dinners with the Russian elite. The result was a plan to build a $3 billion complex of hotels, shopping malls and office space in Moscow, including a tower that was to bear Trump's name. The state's largest lender, Sberbank, even agreed to finance around 70% of the project, which would have been the biggest commercial real estate loan in its history at the time. But Trump's political ambitions apparently wound up getting in the way. "If he hadn't run for President, we would probably be in the construction phase today," Agalarov's son Emin told *Forbes* last year.

Putin's taming of the oligarchs at the start of his tenure continues to pay political dividends

As the elections approached, the Agalarov family kept in touch with the Trumps. With the help of his publicist in London, Emin reached out to Trump's eldest son Donald Jr. to arrange a meeting in June 2016 that has since become a focus of the special counsel investigation. Held on the 25th floor of Trump Tower in Manhattan, its nominal purpose was for the candidate's top advisers—including Manafort and Kushner—to receive dirt on Clinton from a lawyer with close ties to Russian law enforcement. The lawyer, Natalia Veselnitskaya, has denied having any information to offer, and Trump says he wasn't aware that the meeting was taking place. Mueller has yet to disclose his findings on the gathering. But the role of the Agalarov family in setting it up shows just how deep into Trumpland their contacts reached.

Then there was Vekselberg, whose ventures in Silicon Valley had caused such concern at the FBI. The tech billionaire scored an invitation to Trump's Inauguration, thanks to his cousin Andrew Intrater, whose American firm, Columbus Nova, had made many of his tech investments in the U.S. Columbus Nova also made a surprising, different kind of investment early in Trump's presidency. The firm paid Cohen, Trump's personal lawyer, at least $500,000 in consulting fees in 2017, according to the New York *Times*. Although Vekselberg was Columbus Nova's biggest client, the company's lawyers say he had no role in the payments to Cohen.

There may be other, earlier connections between Vekselberg and those who would become involved in Trump's campaign. Documents obtained by TIME show that Carter Page, a Trump foreign policy adviser from March to September 2016, sought out Vekselberg via intermediaries in 2013 when Page was launching a natural gas business. The documents name Vekselberg as a hoped-for investor and refer to a senior executive in his foundation as a point of contact. The documents show Page planned dinner with the senior executive on July 3, 2013, and refer to a draft Memorandum of Understanding between Page's firm and Russian energy giant Gazprom.

At that time, Page was being wooed by a Russian intelligence operative in New York City with promises of contracts in the Russian energy sector, according to court documents. "He got hooked on Gazprom thinking that if they have a project, he could be [sic] rise up," one of the spies wrote another, according to transcripts of intercepted conversations included in a criminal complaint filed by the Justice Department in January 2015. "I will feed him empty promises." The two Russians were later arrested by the FBI and expelled from the country.

Putin at Platon International Airport in February with tycoon Vekselberg, center right

ALEXEI DRUZHININ—TASS/GETTY IMAGES

Page told the House Intelligence Committee last year that in late June 2013 he met with two FBI officials who interviewed him about his contacts with the Russian spy. In his testimony, Page said he did not ask for anything of value from the spy, who Page said was the "least relevant" Russian he was speaking with about Gazprom at the time. Reached by TIME and asked about his attempted outreach to Vekselberg and any role the oligarch played in the Gazprom talks, Page said, "I can neither confirm nor deny, beyond noting that you're being led far astray once again." Page has not been charged with any wrongdoing.

Early this year, Vekselberg was stopped and questioned by Mueller's investigators, who searched his electronic devices, according to the New York *Times*. It is not clear whether Page ever met with Vekselberg or the senior executive. Through a spokesperson, Vekselberg said his Skolkovo Foundation has no means of accessing U.S. sensitive research or technologies and that he had never met Carter Page, and referred TIME to his senior executive, who did not respond to requests for comment. Vekselberg declined to comment on the Mueller investigation until it is over.

Other oligarchs managed to play a role in the 2016 elections without ever setting foot on U.S. soil. The Internet Research Agency, which Prigozhin ran out of an office building in St. Petersburg, flooded social media with pro-Trump content that reached millions of American voters in 2016, according to Facebook's internal investigation and a U.S. indictment issued against Prigozhin in February. Putin, for his part, did not seem to think these efforts were such a big deal. "This is only connected to private persons," he said of his former chef's alleged meddling in the U.S. election. "Not the state."

That argument would be harder for Putin to make in the case of Deripaska. His links to the state are so tight that in order to resolve his U.S. visa problems, the Russian government granted him a diplomatic passport, which he admitted using 10 times to visit New York, in court documents filed in 2016.

It's not known whether the private briefing allegedly offered by Manafort ever happened, but Deripaska was in close contact with the Kremlin around the time. In August 2016, he allegedly met on his yacht with one of Putin's top foreign policy advisers, Sergei Prikhodko, and discussed U.S.-Russian relations. "We've got bad relations with America," the billionaire told the Kremlin official, according to a brief audio recording of their conversation made by an escort on the boat and later leaked online. But that isn't Russia's fault, Deripaska added. It's because of the ill will felt toward Russia in the Obama Administration, he said. Contacted for this story, Deripaska's spokesperson said the line of questioning was based on "biased and false information," but offered no further comment.

NONE OF THE OLIGARCHS would have needed specific instructions to know that helping Trump beat Clinton, a longstanding critic of Putin's, would earn them their President's gratitude, experts say. "They put their imaginations to work," says Galeotti, "leveraging whatever resources and contacts they had."

But the price they paid for meddling in the U.S. elections was likely higher than any of them expected. The sanctions many have faced as a result are some of the toughest the U.S. has ever imposed on private businessmen. Bloomberg News estimated that Russia's wealthiest tycoons lost a combined $16 billion of their net worth on that black Monday, April 9, after the sanctions were announced. Vekselberg reportedly had up to $2 billion of his U.S. assets frozen. Deripaska has been scrambling to distance himself from his companies in the hope of shielding them from the impact of the sanctions. The damage to their reputations among Western investors and banks is likely to hurt their businesses for years to come.

The only winner in this saga would seem to be Putin, whose taming of the oligarchs at the start of his tenure continues to pay political dividends. It allowed him to stand before the cameras in Helsinki and shift the blame away from the Russian state. And as a means of covertly exercising influence abroad, Putin could hardly ask for a better toolkit than the one the oligarchs provide.

In that sense the U.S. Treasury Department may have gotten the story backward when it pledged in April that the oligarchs "will no longer be insulated from the consequences of their government's destabilizing activities." In fact it is the businessmen of Russia who insulate the state and act on its behalf when necessary. For Putin, that is what makes them so useful, and that is not likely to change.

—With reporting by TESSA BERENSON *and* MASSIMO CALABRESI/WASHINGTON ☐

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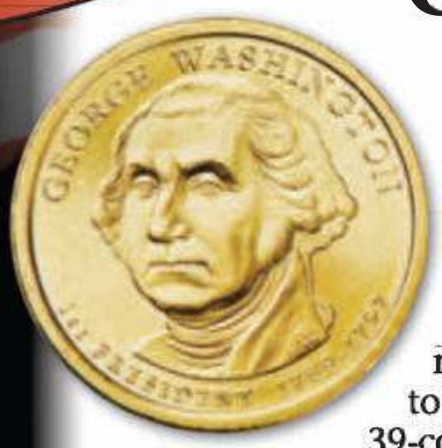

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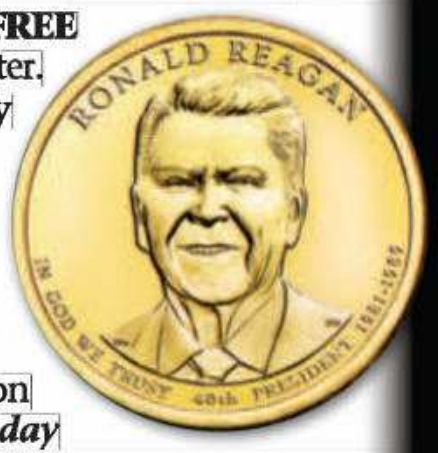

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KATE THE GREAT
Kate Atkinson returns with one of fall's most anticipated novels, *Transcription*

INSIDE

A READER'S DOZEN: THE TOP NOVELS, HISTORIES AND MEMOIRS OF THE FALL

JOSH GROBAN ON HIS NEW HAIRCUT, TV SERIES AND ALBUM

THE SWEDISH CHEF TACKLING THE ZERO-WASTE FOOD MOVEMENT

PHOTOGRAPH BY HELEN CLYNE

FICTION

The many hats of Kate Atkinson

By Bethanne Patrick

KATE ATKINSON PAYS CLOSE ATTENTION TO history—and how it repeats itself. In the best-selling writer's 10th novel, *Transcription,* an unlikely spy, Juliet Armstrong, receives an assignment that will alter her life forever. With a complicated structure—something of a signature for Atkinson—the book highlights the cost of living in a time when no one can be sure of alliances and loyalties, and where rising nationalism threatens the world order. Her characters, maneuvering in the 1940s and 1950s, speak directly to our time.

Transcription is one of the fall's most anticipated books, with glowing advance reviews. Since the publication of her first novel, *Behind the Scenes at the Museum,* which won the prestigious U.K. Whitbread (now Costa) Book of the Year Prize in 1995, Atkinson has solidified her position as a writer of must-read historical fiction. Her two most recent novels, *A God in Ruins* (2015) and *Life After Life* (2013), were critical and popular successes. She also wrote a beloved detective series featuring Cambridge-based private investigator Jackson Brodie, which the BBC adapted to TV.

IT WAS *LIFE AFTER LIFE* that demonstrated Atkinson's singular talent for pulling off unexpected story structures. That novel, a hit on both sides of the Atlantic, follows a young woman who must relive her existence until she succeeds in a great historical task—an ambitious setup with layers of repetition that manage to keep the reader gripped. *Transcription,* like Atkinson's two preceding books, plays with time, beginning in 1981 near the end of Juliet's life, swerving back to 1950 when she produces educational radio programs after the war, then jumping further back to 1940, when she's in the thick of her espionage career. Juliet is carefully drawn and serves to keep the story grounded as the timeline shifts.

Atkinson, speaking over the phone from her home in Edinburgh, says she does "acres" of research for each of her books but translates only select details to the page. "I've learned to just make the most fleeting reference," the author says. "That's all that's required of you as a novelist, to convey the ambience of a particular time."

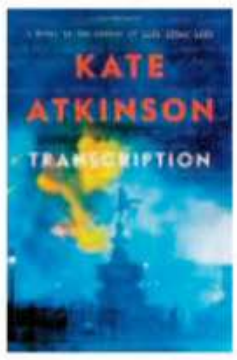
In *Transcription,* the urgent tapping of typewriter keys relays the tension of the time, when Juliet is recruited to transcribe conversations between British citizens who secretly support the Third Reich and an MI5 agent posing as a Gestapo officer.

"There was something very British about it. A sort of ordinariness, if you will," Atkinson says, speaking of the real entrapment schemes on which she based her story. Citizens suspected of harboring pro-German leanings were invited to chat groups where they could share information—with government spies as their hosts. "A flat, people drinking tea and eating biscuits, chatting in front of a portrait of the King," Atkinson says, describing the ordinariness and adding that many of the so-called informants were lower-middle-class women seeking some sort of validation.

Transcription manages to find a fresh angle on a war we've already seen depicted in literature in every possible way. At the start of World War II, Atkinson says, people were so busy worrying about what might happen that they forgot to worry about what was already happening. "I wanted to re-create the feeling of that time when nobody knew how long the war would go on," Atkinson says. "That sense of not knowing—not knowing that the war would last six years, destroy Europe, change the entire map—is very unsettling." There's a pause on the phone line, then Atkinson adds, "I think we're in that position now. We've had a steady history since 1945, and we have come to expect that steadiness. We have no idea what Brexit will bring."

'We've had a steady history since 1945, and we have come to expect that steadiness. We have no idea what Brexit will bring.'

Kate Atkinson



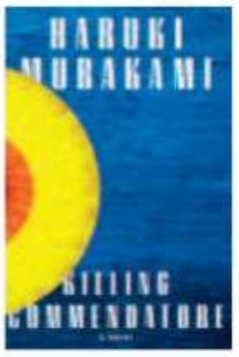
GLOBAL AND NATIONAL TENSIONS aside, Atkinson remains comfortably settled in her Edinburgh neighborhood somewhere near (how near she will not specify) the street shared by fellow best sellers Ian Rankin, J.K. Rowling and Alexander McCall Smith. "I consider my suburb to be better than theirs," she says, laughing. "Mine is very quiet, and I shall not name it to you."

Atkinson's secrecy has less to do with security and more to do with her artistic process. "I spend a lot of time being quite blank," she says. "I would never go out if I had a choice." That doesn't mean she's content with complete solitude. She's a mother of two, and she'd like to add another member to the family, soon: a key supporting character in *Transcription* is a miniature schnauzer named Lily, whose mention prompts Atkinson to confess she's ready to get a pet. "A border collie," she says. "I want a dog who's smarter than I am."

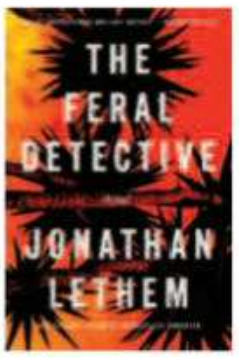
The self-proclaimed homebody is about to set out on a multicity tour across the U.S. The trick, she says, is to separate her roles as writer and author. "I was brought up Katherine, and that's the person I keep to myself," she says. Kate Atkinson is a persona she inhabits in certain situations, not unlike the characters Juliet must play in her spy work. "Some people are very good at being genuine and not having that false self, but to me that's very dangerous territory," Atkinson says. "You have to preserve something in order to write." ◻

WHAT TO READ THIS FALL

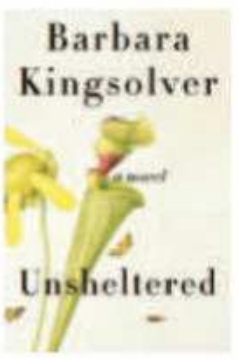
FICTION



KILLING COMMENDATORE
By Haruki Murakami
The acclaimed *1Q84* author is back with his 14th novel translated into English. This two-part epic follows a lonely painter whose discovery of a hidden painting sends him on a mystical quest. *(Oct. 9)*



THE FERAL DETECTIVE
By Jonathan Lethem
This case of a missing girl in California, set against the disorientation after the 2016 election, marks Lethem's first detective story since he rose to fame with *Motherless Brooklyn* in 1999. *(Nov. 6)*

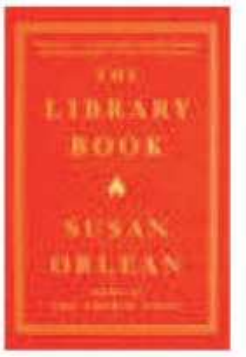


UNSHELTERED
By Barbara Kingsolver
The best-selling *Poisonwood Bible* author's latest jumps between the 1800s and present day in the same New Jersey town as two families contend with changing worlds. *(Oct. 16)* —*Julia Zorthian*

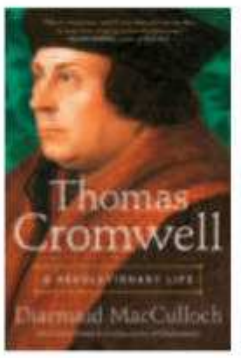
NONFICTION

HEAVY
By Kiese Laymon
Laymon examines his relationship with his mother growing up as a black man in the South, exploring how racial violence suffered by both impacts his physical and emotional selves. *(Oct. 16)*

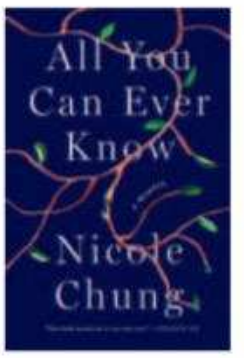
BECOMING
By Michelle Obama
At a reported $65 million, the joint book deal signed by the Obamas is the biggest in history. The former First Lady's memoir, perhaps the single most anticipated book of the fall, is out first. *(Nov. 13)*



THE LIBRARY BOOK
By Susan Orlean
The journalist investigates the mystery of the 1986 Los Angeles Public Library fire, in which 400,000 books burned, and asserts that we still need libraries in the digital age. *(Oct. 16)*

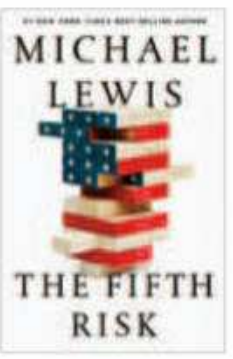


THOMAS CROMWELL
By Diarmaid MacCulloch
Wolf Hall author Hilary Mantel called this deep dive into Henry VIII's controversial aide a book "we have been awaiting for 400 years." MacCulloch culled the royal archives to paint a revolutionary. *(Oct. 30)*

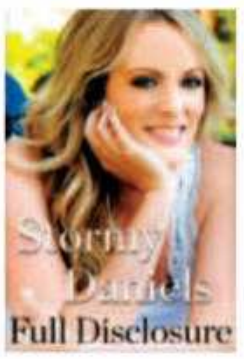


ALL YOU CAN EVER KNOW
By Nicole Chung
Born in Korea and raised by white parents in the U.S., Chung endured prejudice her adoptive family could never understand. Her reflections on identity and culture explore the need to belong. *(Oct. 2)*

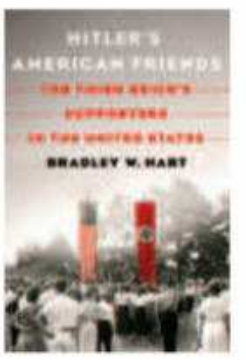
IMAGINE JOHN YOKO
By Yoko Ono
Ono shares previously unpublished photos and stories from a magical moment in pop-music history: the making of *Imagine* at Ono and John Lennon's country home in 1971. *(Oct. 9)*



THE FIFTH RISK
By Michael Lewis
The *Moneyball* author digs deep into government agencies to explore how short-term decisions to cut funding after the 2016 election could create long-term crises. *(Oct. 2)*



FULL DISCLOSURE
By Stormy Daniels
The adult-film actor and Twitter instigator (legal name Stephanie Clifford) promises to divulge plenty—from her alleged relationship with the President to her much-contested NDA. *(Oct. 2)*



HITLER'S AMERICAN FRIENDS
By Bradley W. Hart
World War II narratives often overlook an important detail about the U.S.—it was home to many Nazi sympathizers. Hart examines how regular Americans grew susceptible to hate. *(Oct. 2)* —*Annabel Gutterman*

Christine and the Queens take center stage

MUSIC

A French queen of pop rolls out the disco ball

By Maura Johnston

CHRISTINE AND THE QUEENS, THE POP PROJECT THAT'S THE brainchild of French singer-choreographer-producer Hélöise Letissier, has always been about activity. The first Christine and the Queens album, 2014's *Chaleur Humaine,* paired slick synth pop with perpetual-motion videos that electrified her live shows and inspired YouTube dance tutorials.

On *Chris,* released on the record label Because Music, Letissier sounds even more energized. *Chris*—named after the persona Letissier took on for the album, one that she has described as "bolder and stronger and had more muscle"—swaggers and grooves, with Letissier showcasing her forceful alto and her keen knowledge of how to make a dance record turn any room into a mirror-ball-lit club. On "Doesn't Matter," Letissier roller-skates around drum-machine handclaps and keyboard swells, her voice cresting into a wail. "Goya Soda" pairs crystalline keyboards with a bouncing-ball bass. *Chris* is full of moments with seemingly opposing musical ideals: the erotically charged "Damn (What Must a Woman Do)" manages to sound both rubbery and robotic, while the chorus of "5 Dollars" has the big-tent sweep of recent EDM smashes, contrasting with Letissier's passionate vocal on the verses.

That constant flipping of expectations has made Christine and the Queens one of pop's most exciting recent success stories. Letissier, whether performing as Christine or Chris or under her own name, chafes at the idea of being put into a box. With *Chris,* which Letissier wrote and produced, she not only explodes any boxes that might contain her; she also turns the rumblings leading up to and following those blasts into building blocks for irresistible, thumping tunes. ▯

QUICK TALK

Josh Groban

The singer and actor is following up a long run on Broadway by keeping a foot in each camp, releasing a new original album, Bridges, *and starring as Tony Jr. in Netflix's* The Good Cop*—both out on Sept. 21.*

What drew you to the role of Tony Jr.? We wanted this show to be very character-driven, fun for the whole family and mystery-based, the same way you'd watch a Columbo, or Poirot on PBS. We wanted it to be about the whodunit and a love letter to New York. It's not every day you get offered an opportunity to step even further out of the pigeonhole. Every great thing I've done in my life has come through an unexpected door that's opened.

You're known for your long hair, but you try out a new look in *The Good Cop.* To be honest, growing out my hair was just my way of hiding my ears in high school, and then it stuck. On *The Good Cop,* I had to cut my hair and my beard to NYPD regulations. I can't stand TJ's hairstyle. I don't think it suits me at all.

You got your start as a stand-in for Andrea Bocelli in 1999 during a Grammy rehearsal. Now he's featured on your new album. How did that happen? It's incredible when something that started it all comes full circle. When my collaborators and I were writing, we put this melody together that sounded very flowing. It had an Italian energy to it. And the first thing we thought—it was 2 in the morning at a studio in New York—was, "Let's just send it to Andrea, see if he's got a lyric idea." A shot in the dark. Thankfully, he said yes.

What story does this album tell? I had just come off of Broadway [in *Natasha, Pierre and the Great Comet of 1812*], almost 300 performances where you're sitting around in your dressing room waiting to go on for endless hours with a little piano in front of you. When that stopped, the ideas just poured out of the walls. After leaving the show and feeling like the world was in a tailspin, going to the studio every day to write was so cathartic. It was like exorcising this demon of how we felt in the world. Because of that, it actually didn't come out as this sorrow-filled, melancholy thing. It came out as this hopeful, optimistic, rhythmic energy. —RAISA BRUNER

Wilde and Isaac: two beautiful, happy people, but tragedy awaits

MOVIES

Life Itself may sap the life out of you

By Stephanie Zacharek

ALL MOVIES ARE MANIPULATIVE. IT'S their job to nudge us toward some sensation we weren't expecting. But once in a while a film jets right past the boundaries of artfully contrived tear-jerking into a kind of blunt hostage taking. *Life Itself,* written and directed by Dan Fogelman, the master manipulator behind television's *This Is Us,* is so perversely jaw-dropping in its attempts to extort feelings out of us that it could almost be a black comedy. But no, this one is playing it straight.

Life Itself tells the stories of a carousel of characters and the interlocking tragedies that befall them. Olivia Wilde and Oscar Isaac are adorably canoodling newlyweds expecting their first child. Olivia Cooke is a crabby faux punk who channels her painful past into horrible music. There's a rich Spanish country gent (Antonio Banderas) who intrudes on the lives of the salt-of-the-earth couple (Sergio Peris-Mencheta and Laia Costa) who live on his property. There's also a therapist, Annette Bening, charged with the thankless task of healing the pileup of wounds this screenplay inflicts on these characters.

People being smacked by buses, children witnessing the death of parents, suicide born of deep despair—and don't forget cancer. It's all there in *Life Itself,* including references to incest and murdered puppies. We don't actually see all of these things: *Life Itself* is a model of super discreet editing, and a largely unseen narrator catalogs some of the worst horrors in a way that allows us to remain comfortably detached. Welcome to the cozy zone of human tragedy: you'll feel bad, but not too bad, and you'll go home with so many bromides that you'll have to rent a storage space to house them all.

The premise of *Life Itself*—that beauty and happiness can, and often does, spring from tragedy—isn't so bad. But Fogelman's approach—to throw one Velcro catastrophe after another at his target, us, figuring that something's got to stick—might work better in short, episodic bursts than it does in a full-length movie. What hurts the most is the wholehearted dedication each of these actors brings to such truly horrendous material: they make *Life Itself* almost watchable—almost—but there's no effective cure for this kidney stone of a movie. Please, please, just let it pass. ◻

CHRISTINE AND THE QUEENS, JOSH GROBAN: GETTY IMAGES; LIFE ITSELF: AMAZON; THE SISTERS BROTHERS: ANNAPURNA PICTURES

MOVIES

*Sister*shood is powerful

It's a golden day whenever John C. Reilly has a starring role in a movie. In *The Sisters Brothers,* set in the rough but booming territory between Oregon and California in the 1850s, Reilly plays Eli Sisters, one half of a ruthless but also somewhat inept family duo who work for a shadowy figure known as the Commodore. Eli and his hotheaded brother, Charlie (Joaquin Phoenix), have been assigned—with the help of an erudite scout (Jake Gyllenhaal)—to capture a mystery man (Riz Ahmed), an idealistic soul who dreams of forming a utopian community. Charlie has been charged with running the show, as if Eli, who radiates a kind of cautious, prickly sweetness, were less well equipped for the job. But these squabbling siblings don't fit into easily definable roles.

The Sisters Brothers—French director Jacques Audiard's first English-language film, adapted from Patrick deWitt's novel—defies our expectations at every turn. This is a melancholy, sometimes ruthless western with a restorative ending, and Reilly, in particular, is wonderful. We already know that people had to be tough as old boots to survive in the American West. Reilly, his face like weather-beaten sunshine, suggests that it took some tenderness too.

—*S.Z.*

Squabbling Sisters Reilly and Phoenix

Ending food waste, one dish at a time

By Ciara Nugent

Svensson wants to raise the status of vegetables

WHEN PAUL SVENSSON BEGAN CLIMBing the ladder at Sweden's Michelin-starred restaurants, he just wanted to get things right. Following the exacting rules of traditional gastronomy, he believed beauty on a plate was a matter of uniformity. Each dish had to look exactly like the previous one. "But to achieve that, you've got to cut so much away," the 44-year-old chef says. "You've got to force nature to be something it's not."

As head of his own kitchen, Svensson now has a different approach. His Restaurant at Fotografiska in Stockholm (attached to Sweden's national photography museum) is at the forefront of a "zero-waste" movement tackling a frustratingly modern problem. According to the U.N., roughly a third of the food produced for human consumption each year ends up lost or thrown away. Reasons for wasting these 1.2 billion tons of food include poor planning, logistical difficulties and—most infuriatingly for Svensson—our aversion to produce that looks less than perfect. The average person in North America and Europe throws away 210 to 255 lb. of food every year, compared with just 13 to 24 lb. in developing regions.

Some brave restaurateurs are trying to change that. Through careful planning and imaginative dishes, they are hoping to overhaul industry practices—and convince customers that sustainability doesn't have to be boring. "Food is mainly chemistry. I love seeing how it all comes together to make something new," says Svensson, who wanted to be an engineer before he fell into cooking.

At Fotografiska, Svensson designs plant-based menus that change with each new batch of seasonal produce that arrives. Customers can still choose a meat-based side dish, but Svensson argues in favor of raising the status of vegetables. "Actually to get a really good carrot is just as expensive as a chicken, and it takes more time and care to turn it into something amazing," he says.

One favorite dish is "compost-baked onion." Onions left over from other dishes are peeled and composted overnight; Svensson then cooks new onions in that mixture, intensifying the flavor before adding organic or wild mushrooms and crispy Jerusalem artichokes. He uses the leaves and flowers of the artichoke to make a "sweet plant dish."

The zero-waste approach also applies at Svensson's other restaurant, Retaste, and always extends beyond the kitchen. When mussels are on the menu, their blue shells get crushed up to make plates. Old wine bottles are sent to an artisan in southern Sweden who turns them into glasses and vases. Any organic matter that can't be used is folded into a rich compost and sent back to the farm.

SVENSSON WANTS A VISIT to his restaurant to change the way his customers think about waste. "They can take the attitude from our restaurant and apply it whenever they look in their fridge," he says. "The only thing that creates waste is a lack of imagination."

Svensson's imagination has earned him a place alongside Alain Ducasse and Yotam Ottolenghi on the Plant-Forward 50—a list by the Culinary Institute of America recognizing innovative chefs working on sustainable plant-based cuisine. It's an urgent mission: livestock farming is responsible for roughly 15% of global greenhouse-gas emissions, and U.N. scientists have been arguing in favor of vegan diets since 2010. The health benefits of eating less meat, including a reduced risk of cancer and heart disease, are also a draw at plant-based restaurants.

But Svensson insists that taste is the most important factor. "We have to compete on the same grounds as everyone else," he says. "If it's not tasty, people aren't going to be interested." □

HAKAN GUSTAFSSON

Zero-waste restaurants are going global

Dozens of chefs are now promoting sustainable, plant-based cuisine.

O.MY, MELBOURNE
Since 2013, Blayne, Chayse and Tyson Bertoncello have created menus focusing on seasonal produce grown at a nearby farm.

SILO, BRIGHTON, U.K.
Douglas McMaster, a zero-waste pioneer in Britain, opened Silo in a centuries-old warehouse in 2014.

GRAFFITI EARTH, NEW YORK CITY
Since 2016, Jehangir Mehta has offered sustainable meals, often inspired by his Indian-Persian heritage, at a tiny Tribeca spot.

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Mika Brzezinski The *Morning Joe* co-host on updating a women's empowerment book in the #MeToo era and why women don't need to be liked

The original edition of *Know Your Value* quoted Donald Trump before he was President. Is that why you decided to rerelease it, to expunge his presence? Not necessarily exactly because he was in the book. You could argue that it's important to look at how people think, even sexists and misogynists. It had more to do with just how much more we could really talk about these issues now in the age of Trump.

You write of a lunch with the President where you and Ivanka raised the issue of women's advancement. Have you spoken to her since? We are not getting along. I was extremely outspoken about her during the still ongoing and internationally humiliating child-separation policy issue. She wanted to talk. And I was just like, "I'm sorry. There is nothing to talk about until you step up for these children."

Can you tell us of a time when you felt you advocated for yourself poorly? Oh, up until the age of 41, I advocated poorly every step of the way, and it wasn't even what came out of my mouth. It was what I thought of myself, what I considered to be my value. Knowing your value means talking about your accomplishments as if you're talking about anything else. Women don't do it well. I didn't do it well.

Studies suggest people don't like assertive women. How can women get past that? Well, I think that question is problematic. Does it matter that you're liked? We need to worry about being effective, being someone who gets the job done. If you are respected, then of course you're liked.

You write that divorce can be part of knowing your value. What should a woman expect in a husband? I don't think I'm the greatest deliverer of marital advice. Marriage comes with a great deal of failure, and I own mine, completely.

"DOES IT MATTER THAT YOU'RE LIKED? WE NEED TO WORRY ABOUT BEING EFFECTIVE."

BRYAN BEDDER—AMERICARES/GETTY IMAGES

Has the #MeToo movement made it harder for men to hire women, because they're afraid work interactions might be misinterpreted? Yes. I think they will be afraid. I think this is definitely one potential outcome temporarily. But there are going to be a lot of other things happening. A lot of companies are looking at their culture. A lot of men are saying, Whoa, I need to press reset. This movement is going to be tough and ugly and uncomfortable. But it needs to happen.

Do you think the #MeToo movement has taken down people who didn't deserve it? No. Do you?

You've been supportive of Al Franken. I'll take a risk and say that one doesn't feel right to me. I know Al Franken, but looking at the public record, that one does not feel fair.

Your book says people should not be tried by the media. But only one day after the Harvey Weinstein news broke, you said you would not go ahead with your book deal unless he resigned from his imprint. Is that different? I had a set of books for women. I had my own knowledge of how Harvey operates. So I went with my gut when I made that decision. I think part of knowing your value is being more than fricking ready to put your money where your mouth is and make gut decisions.

Do you regret any of your pre-election coverage? Um, sure! But I take issue with the way people have seen it. I think that we gave consistent viewers a window into how Trump thinks: his relationship with Putin, his moral compass. I wish more Republicans had come on our show. The only other Republican was Lindsey Graham. We did everything we could to put Hillary Clinton on our show. We sucked up to her campaign in ways that embarrass me.

Do you admire any quality in the President? No. Sorry. I don't. It's weird.

—BELINDA LUSCOMBE

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